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LIVES

OF

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IRISHMEN.

John James Macgregor.

Author of the History of the French Revolution.

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IRISHMEN.

LIVES

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED

IRISHMEN,

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT PERIOD,

ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER,

AND EMBODYING A

HISTORY OF IRELAND IN THE LIVES OF IRISHMEN.

EDITED BY

JAMES WILLS, A.M.T.C.D., M.R.I.A.,

Author of Letters on the Philosophy of Unbelief, &c., &c., &c.

EMBELLISHED BY A SERIES OF HIGHLY-FINISHED PORTRAITS, SELECTED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES, AND ENGRAVED BY EMINENT ARTISTS.

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Earl of Charlemont

LIVES

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED

IRISHMEN.

George Berkeley, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne.

BORN, A. D. 1684.—DIED, A. D. 1753.

GEORGE BERKELEY was the son of William Berkeley, of Kilcrin, near Thomastown, in the county of Kilkenny—the county of Flood, Langrishe, Bushe, and other names not to be forgotten in the roll of honour. He was born, March 12, 1684.

We are not enabled to give any detail of the history of his ancestors. It is mentioned in the memorial written by Dr Stock, and appended to the collection of his writings, that his grandfather came over to Ireland after the restoration, his family having been great sufferers, for their loyalty, in the civil wars; and that he "obtained the collectorship of Belfast." His ancestor is elsewhere mentioned as a younger branch of the earls of Berkeley.

Berkeley received the first part of his education at Kilkenny school, from which so many scholars of the first eminence have come. Of the peculiar indications of his schoolboy years, no notice has been preserved. He entered as a pensioner in the University of Dublin, in his fifteenth year, under the tuition of Dr Hall; and in 1707, when about twenty-three, he obtained a fellowship. The same year he published an essay on mathematical science, which had been written before he was twenty, and was probably the fruit of his studies for the fellowship. This was an attempt to demonstrate arithmetic without algebra or Euclid. As we intend to conclude this memoir with a distinct notice of his writings, we shall only here observe the evidence which such an attempt contains of a moral feature in his character, which, we are fully convinced, had a very considerable effect in determining the nature of all his writings, and some parts, at least, of his conduct: this was a freedom from the influence thrown over the mind by the settled conventions of human opinion, and a consequent disposition to take novel and eccentric courses, at the real or apparent dictate of reason or duty,—a temper, of which one of the results was, a very unusual simplicity and singleness of character;

another, a boldness equally remarkable, though we think far less fortunate, in the highly adventurous career of his philosophy.

His Theory of Vision came out in 1709, and the Principles of Human Knowledge, which gave the ultimate stamp to his philosophical character, in the following year. In 1712, he was induced to enter upon the discussion of those questions of political theory, which then mainly interested the public. The reader is already aware of the connexion of the questions upon the rights of kings, and the doctrine of passive obedience, with the history of the revolution which placed the family of Hanover on the British throne. Locke's celebrated treatise turned the attention of Berkeley to the controversy, on which he delivered three commonplaces, in the college chapel: these he afterwards printed; and as he undertook to maintain the exploded doctrine, which was supposed to be connected with adherence to the banished family of the Stuart princes, he was afterwards represented as a Jacobite, by Lord Galway, when recommended to him for preferment, by the prince and princess of Wales. Mr Molyneux, who had been Berkeley's pupil in college, and had introduced him to these royal personages, took care to remove the impression, by showing, from the work, that the principles of the writer were thoroughly loyal.

His system of materialism, as a matter of course, attracted a very high degree of attention among that class of persons who delight in the barren perplexities of metaphysics. The controversial opposition which it excited was more shown in the general opposition of eminent men, such as Whiston, Clarke, and others, than by any express attempts at refutation. Of this, the following extract from Whiston's memoir of Clarke may give a notion sufficient for our present purpose:—"And perhaps it will not be here improper, by way of caution, to take notice of the pernicious consequence such metaphysical subtilties have sometimes had, even against common sense, and common experience, as in the cases of those three famous men, Mons. Leibnitz, Mr Locke, and Mr Berkeley.—(The first, in his pre-established Harmony; the second, in the dispute with Limborch about human liberty.) And as to the third named, Mr Berkeley, he published, A.D. 1710, at Dublin, the metaphysic notion, that *matter* was not a *real thing;* nay, that the common opinion of its *reality* was groundless, if not ridiculous. He was pleased to send Dr Clarke and myself, each of us, a book. After we had both perused it, I went to Dr Clarke, and discoursed with him about it to this effect,—that I, being not a metaphysician, was not able to answer Mr Berkeley's subtile *premises*, though I did not at all believe his absurd *conclusion*. I, therefore, desired that he who was deep in such subtilties, but did not appear to believe Mr Berkeley's conclusion, would answer him,—which task he declined. I speak not these things with intention to reproach either Mr Locke or dean Berkeley. I own the latter's great abilities in other parts of learning; and to his noble design of settling a college in, or near the West Indies, for the instruction of natives in civil arts, and in the principles of christianity, I heartily wish all possible success. It is the pretended metaphysic science itself, derived from the sceptical disputes of the Greek philosophers, not those particular great men who

have been, unhappily, imposed on by it, that I complain of. Accordingly, when the famous Milton had a mind to represent the vain reasonings of wicked spirits in Hades, he described it by their endless train of metaphysics, thus :—

"Others apart sat on a hill retired," &c.—*Par. Lost.* ii. 557—561.

"Many years after this, at Mr Addison's instance, there was a meeting of Drs Clarke and Berkeley to discuss this speculative point; and great hopes were entertained from the conference. The parties, however, separated without being able to come to any agreement. Dr B. declared himself not well satisfied with the conduct of his antagonist on the occasion, who, though he could not answer, had not candour enough to own himself convinced. But the complaints of disputants against each other, especially on subjects of this abstruse nature, should be heard with suspicion."

In 1713, he went over to London, and there published a defence of his philosophical theory, in "Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous." The ingenuity and the singular acuteness of intellect displayed in these writings attracted the admiration of scholars and literary men; and his acquaintance was sought and cultivated by the most distinguished persons of the time; Steele and Swift, especially the latter, were active in introducing him to those who might be serviceable to his advancement. Steele employed him to write several papers in the *Guardian*, for each of which he is said to have given him a guinea and a dinner. At Steele's house he frequently met Pope, and formed an intimacy with him, which grew into a lasting friendship. He was introduced to the celebrated earl of Peterborough, by Swift, whose influence with this nobleman was very great. At his instance, the earl took Berkeley with him, as chaplain and secretary, when, towards the end of the same year, he was appointed ambassador to the king of Sicily, and the other Italian states.

He was left for three months at Leghorn, by the earl, while he went on by himself, to Sicily, to discharge the functions of his embassy. During his absence, a really trifling incident gave Berkeley a fright, to which he was afterwards used to revert with pleasantry, among his friends. At that period, it is stated, by Dr Clarke, that the only place in Italy where the service of the protestant church was tolerated, was at Leghorn—a favour then recently obtained by queen Anne from the grand duke. It happened that Dr Kennett, chaplain to the English factory, asked Berkeley to preach for him one Sunday. Berkeley complied with the request. On the next day, as he was sitting alone in his chamber, he was surprised and startled by the apparition of a train of surpliced priests, who entered his apartment in ghostly array, and walked round, muttering some form of prayer or exorcism, without seeming to notice his presence in any way, and then walked out again. Berkeley's first apprehensions suggested some connexion between this solemn visitation and his sermon of the previous day: it could be, he thought, nothing less than some demonstration from the inquisition, which must have been informed that he had preached without license to a heretical congregation. When he

recovered from his astonishment, he made cautious inquiries, and, to his great relief, learned that it was the solemn festival set apart for blessing the houses of all "good catholics" from rats and vermin.

In 1714, he returned with lord Peterborough to England. The fall of the tory party appeared to terminate all immediate prospects of preferment; he was, therefore, not dissatisfied at the occurrence of a favourable opportunity to extend his travels. The bishop of Clogher, Dr St George Ashe, proposed to him to accompany his son who was heir to a good property, on a tour through Europe.

His stay at Paris is rendered memorable by an incident of some interest, his interview with the celebrated philosopher Malebranche, of which, we have to regret, that no detailed account remains. Malebranche was prominent among the great speculative inquirers of his age, and held opinions very nearly approaching those of Berkeley's theory. His opinion that all our volitions and perceptions are produced by the immediate operation of the divine will working on the frame, appears by a brief and very obvious train to lead to the inferences of the non-existence of external things. From this not very sane result, the French philosopher was deterred by an argument which should have had a similar influence on Berkeley, whose theory was invented with a direct view to oppose a scepticism fashionable in his day. Malebranche justly considered the existence of the external world to be affirmed in the beginning of Genesis, and, therefore, concluded that the inferences of speculation could not be carried so far as to deny it: although it is clear he removed all evidence for it but that supplied by scripture. When Berkeley paid him a visit, he was labouring under an inflammation of the lungs; and, at the moment, engaged in the preparation of some medicine, which he was watching as it heated in a small pipkin on his fire. It was an unfortunate situation for the encounter of two philosophers, who had such a point of difference to contend for. Malebranche had become acquainted with Berkeley's theory of the non-existence of the external world; and immediately entered, with all the interest of a philosopher, and all the impetuosity of a Frenchman, into a discussion upon it. Berkeley was soon heated with controversial ardour; and they who best know the zeal of metaphysical disputation, will not hesitate to admit the probability, that the trifling considerations of form and circumstance must soon have been forgotten by both parties in the keen debate. The actual incidents are no further known than by the event. The French philosopher spoke so much and so loud, that it brought on a violent increase of his disorder, which carried him off in a few days.

Upwards of four years were, at this period, spent in travelling among other places, less upon the common track of tourists: he travelled over Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. He had collected materials for a natural history of Sicily; but they were unfortunately lost in the passage to Naples. Some very curious and interesting sketches of his visit to Ischia, in the bay of Naples, and a description of an eruption of Vesuvius, which he witnessed, and was enabled to observe very accurately, have caused his biographer to regret this loss as an injury to the "literary world." And notwithstanding the bright reflection which Berkeley's fame, as a metaphysical writer, throws on his country,

and still more on his university, we are rather inclined to regret that his genius had not earlier received a direction favourable to the exercise of talents with which he was pre-eminently endowed by nature. The world might have spared those writings which have in no way contributed to human wisdom, and are rather to be regarded as essays and examples of high intellectual power, than as leading to results, with perhaps one slight exception, which it will be time enough to notice when we come to the separate consideration of his writings. There is a remarkable freshness, vigour, and graphic power about his descriptions of places, and an inquisitiveness of research, which would, with the addition of his profound intelligence, have given to the world the most instructive and delightful history of the nature and social peculiarities of the countries and people whom he visited. From the habitual intercourse with realities, his understanding would have acquired a practical turn, the want of which was his main defect, and with his universally accomplished, exploring, and enthusiastic mind, he would have been the Humboldt of his age. There is a singular combination of poetic effect and of accurate observation, in his description of the island of Inarime, and still more of its ancient mountain, Mons Epomeus, rising from its centre, and overlooking the scenery of the Æneid—"from the promontory of Antium to the cape of Palinurus." Though we are amused with the enthusiastic simplicity which, after describing the Arcadian innocence and simplicity of the inhabitants, who, as they "are without riches and honours, so they are without the vices and follies that attend them;" in the very next sentence he informs us, that "they have got, as an alloy to their happiness, an ill habit of murdering one another, on slight offences." One is apt to suspect that the philosopher had in his mind the *Arcades ambo* of Horace, rather than the "poetical notions of the golden age;" but Berkeley's mind is too earnest and high-wrought for the frivolity of a joke: he immediately after tells his correspondent that "by the sole secret of minding our own business, we found a means of living safely among this dangerous people,"—a lesson which he might have easily learned at home. Still more full of interest must have been his descriptions of mount Vesuvius: in his letter to Arbuthnot, in which he describes three ascents, he says, of the first, "With much difficulty I reached the top of mount Vesuvius, in which I saw a vast aperture full of smoke, which hindered the seeing its depth and figure. I heard within that horrid gulf certain odd sounds, which seemed to proceed from the belly of the mountain; a sort of murmuring, sighing, throbbing, churning, dashing, as it were, of waves, and, between whiles, a noise like that of thunder, or cannon, which was constantly attended with a clattering like that of tiles falling from the tops of houses on the streets," &c. On this ascent he obtained but imperfect and occasional glimpses of the awful doings below, in that vast and hollow gulf: a momentary dispersion of the smoke displayed two furnaces, almost contiguous, throwing up a "very ruddy flame," and vast discharges of red hot stones. On the eighth of May he ascended a second time, and saw a different aspect of things: the air was calm, and a column of smoke ascended straight up, so as to leave clearly visible the boiling and bellowing chasm beneath, in which the two furnaces

burned more fiercely than on the former day, "throwing up every three or four minutes, with a dreadful bellowing, a vast number of red hot stones—sometimes, in appearance, about a thousand—and at least three thousand feet higher than my head, as I stood upon the brink." The other furnace was equally remarkable, in a different way, being "filled with red hot liquid matter, like that in the furnace of a glass-house, which raged and wrought as the waves of the sea, causing a short abrupt noise, like what may be imagined to proceed from a sea of quicksilver dashing among uneven rocks." Between this ascent and the twentieth of June, he continued to make excursions in the vicinity, during which he continued to observe with interest the varying appearances of the mountain—sometimes pouring from its summit bright and glittering streams of liquid lava—of which the burning course was traceable by the "ruddy smoke" which overhung it "along a huge track of sky." On other nights, a tall column of flame shot up the heavens, from the smoky height, and disappeared in sudden darkness, after a moment, as if "the jaws of darkness had devoured it." But on the tenth the scene appears to have put on all its terrors to attract the imaginative philosopher: he describes its distant sound to his friend:—"You cannot form a juster idea of this noise, in the most violent fits of it, than by imagining a mixed sound made up of the raging of a tempest, the murmur of a troubled sea, and the roaring of thunder and artillery all together. It was very terrible, as we heard it in the further end of Naples, at the distance of above twelve miles: this moved my curiosity to approach the mountain. Three or four of us got into a boat, and were set ashore at Torre del Greco, a town situate at the foot of Vesuvius, to the south-west, whence we rode four or five miles before we came to the burning river, which was about midnight. The roaring of the volcano grew exceeding loud and horrible as we approached. I observed a mixture of colours in the cloud over the crater,—green, yellow, red, and blue; there was, likewise, a ruddy dismal light in the air over that tract of land where the burning river flowed; ashes continually showered on us all the way from the seacoast; all which circumstances, set off, and, augmented by the horror and silence of the night, made a scene the most uncommon and astonishing I ever saw, which grew still more extraordinary as we came nearer the stream. Imagine a vast torrent of liquid fire rolling from the top down the side of the mountain, and, with irresistible fury, bearing down and consuming vines, olives, fig-trees, and houses; in a word, everything that stood in its way. This mighty flood divided into different channels, according to the inequalities of the mountain; the largest stream seemed half-a-mile broad at least, and five miles long. The nature and consistence of these burning torrents have been described with so much exactness and truth, by Borellus, in his Latin treatise of mount Ætna, that I need say nothing of it. I walked so far before my companions up the mountain, along the side of the river of fire, that I was obliged to return in great haste, the sulphureous stream having surprised me, and almost taken away my breath. During our return, which was about three o'clock in the morning, we constantly heard the murmur and groaning of the mountain, which between whiles would burst out into louder peals,

throwing up huge spouts of fire and burning stones, which, falling down again, resembled the stars in our rockets. Sometimes I observed two, at others three distinct columns of flames; and sometimes one vast one, that seemed to fill the whole crater. These burning columns, and the fiery stones, seemed to be shot one thousand feet perpendicular above the summit of the volcano." The eruption continued, with various changes of appearance, until the eighteenth, during which he continued to watch it with unwearied interest, and to note every incident that occurred. As may be anticipated, he formed a theory to account for volcanoes. He supposed a vacuum to be made in the "bowels of the earth, by a vast body of inflammable matter taking fire, the water rushed in and was converted into steam; which simple cause was sufficient to produce all the wonderful effects of volcanoes—as appears from Savery's fire-engine for raising water, and from the Æolipile."* We believe the great question, thus hastily solved, remains yet to exercise the research and skill of geologists—Whether the volcanic elements are directly thrown from the great reservoir of molten elements far down towards the mass of central heat—or the infusion of water upon some local accumulation of similar materials, is not, and perhaps cannot, be ascertained with the certainty of science. Nor can we here dwell upon a question so far beyond our knowledge.

On his return to England, Berkeley composed, at Lyons, an essay upon a question proposed by the Royal Academy of Paris. The subject was on the principle and cause of motion; the tract is in Latin in his works: he published it on his arrival in London in 1721. In this tract, he arrives with infinite art at the same conclusion which he had already put forth in his great metaphysical theory.† As we propose to give the reader a full account of this, it will be unnecessary to anticipate it here.

From such speculations he was happily diverted, from time to time; and at last altogether, by the active benevolence of his disposition. In 1720, the country sustained great suffering from the South Sea scheme. Berkeley wrote and published a tract, in which he endeavours to point out the sources of the national suffering and its remedies. His discourse displays all the character of a humane and elevated spirit, with much sound thinking on the general principles of social welfare. There is, at the same time, perceptible in it, a tone of observation remote from the actual temper of human life, and a want of perception of the more detailed workings of society—he soars in a lofty region of primary truths and general principles, and seems to consider a great moral reform, and something like a system of sumptuary regulations, to be the great remedy for the existing evils. And there can, indeed, be little doubt of the vast accumulation of evils which arise in the social system, from the intemperance, profligacy, luxury, irreligion, and immorality; or, in one word, the corruption of society: nor can we hesitate to agree with Berkeley, that the most beneficial changes would be the result of a great and general reform. But such statements have small weight upon the foaming torrent of life; and this can only

* Clarke's note.

† See from sect. 34 to the end.—Works, 8vo., vol. ii. p. 385.

be derived from a cautious, close, and specific method of application, which, having laid down general maxims, pursues them with a view to the practical and possible. Yet, in a moment of nearly unexampled suffering and terror, it may be assumed, that the national spirit might be more than usually alive to those impressions which are mostly so difficult to convey. That a sober and moral tone of public feeling, and, still more, a due sense of Christianity, from which such impressions have their best and most legitimate source, ought to have the good effects implied by Berkeley, we have no doubt,—but such impressions are the slow growth of time, and only to be developed from the fullest practical operation of the cause itself. No reasoning from consequences is, under any circumstances, likely to have any effect. No one will mend his ways because the nation might be improved by a general reform. All such expedients begin at the wrong end.

Shortly after his return, Berkeley was introduced by Pope to the accomplished earl of Burlington, whose name is so familiar to the architectural student. Berkeley had himself cultivated this art, and, during his travels, had become extensively and accurately acquainted with the best existing specimens, ancient and modern. His knowledge of the subject, set off as it must have been by his discursive talent and his ingenuity and enthusiasm, attracted the admiration of the noble earl, who introduced him with strong encomiums to the duke of Grafton, then about to come over as lord-lieutenant to Ireland. The duke took him with him, as chaplain, in 1721, when he had been six years away from his native country. He had, in the mean time, become a senior fellow, and now took his degree of doctor in divinity, November 14.

In the next year he obtained a large bequest from Mrs Hester Vanhomrigh, amounting to about £4,000. We have already had to state the particulars in our memoir of Swift. It is asserted, on good authority, that he had only once met this unfortunate lady at dinner. But he must have been well known to her by reputation; and, besides, the high admiration which his singularly pure character was likely to make on one so alive to impressions, many influential causes were not unlikely to have intervened, though of so slight a nature, as to leave no record.

In 1724 he was preferred by the duke of Grafton to the deanery of Derry, on which he resigned his fellowship. The deanery was worth £1,100 a-year; but the heart of Berkeley was high above the lower influences of life. The same spirit which impressed him with a notion that the state of the nation might be bettered by lofty expositions of general truths, operated on him as a governing influence. While he had been on his travels, his imagination had been captivated by the splendour and beauty of foreign scenery,—with which he naturally associated visions of human happiness. The notion of a purer and better form of society, founded on the perfect basis of Christianity, was a natural fruit of such a mind, and it became his favourite project. For him, the factitious splendour and the enervating luxury—the pomp and vanity, which are so much of life to common minds, were utterly devoid of charms—in these there was nothing to resign. A course of conduct, hard to the conception of ordinary mortals, was, with these

dispositions, natural; his heart, in which no sordid feeling had place, was filled with the lofty and holy design of "converting the savage Americans to Christianity, by a college to be erected in the Summer Islands, otherwise called the isles of Bermuda." We shall offer no extracts from the proposal which he published on the occasion; because, as was to be expected from one of his earnest and sincere temper, the reasons, which he would himself feel the weight of, are all obvious enough. It is not until a man doubts the efficacy of the main reasons, that he will think it necessary to look for new and deep arguments for the recommendation of good deeds. A poem, otherwise of no value, will offer some view of the impressions of his own mind.

The muse, disgusted at an age and clime,
Barren of every glorious theme,
In distant lands now waits a better time,
Producing subjects worthy fame.

In happy climes where, from the genial sun
And virgin earth, such scenes ensue,
The force of art, by nature seems outdone,
And fancied beauties by the true.

In happy climes—the seat of innocence,
Where nature guides, and virtue rules;
Where man shall not impose, for truth and sense,
The pedantry of courts and schools.

There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay,
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

Westward, the course of empire takes its way,
The four first acts already past;
A fifth shall close the drama with the day,
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

To this testimony of Berkeley's muse, we shall here add dean Swift's very remarkable letter to lord Carteret, 1724:—

"There is a gentleman of this kingdom gone for England,—it is Dr George Berkeley, dean of Derry; the best preferment among us, being worth £1,100 a-year. He takes the Bath in his way to London, and will, of course, attend your excellency, and be presented, I suppose, by his friend, lord Burlington; and because I believe you will choose out some very idle minutes to read this letter, perhaps you may not be ill entertained with some account of the man, and his errand. He was a fellow of the university here, and, going to England very young, about thirteen years ago, he became the founder of a sect there called the *immaterialists*, by the force of a very curious book upon the subject. Dr Smaleridge, and many other eminent persons, were his proselytes. I sent him secretary and chaplain to Sicily with my lord Peterborough; and, upon his lordship's return, Dr Berkeley spent

above seven years in travelling over most parts of Europe, but chiefly through every corner of Italy, Sicily, and other islands. When he came back to England, he found so many friends that he was effectually recommended to the duke of Grafton, by whom he was lately made dean of Derry. Your excellency will be frighted when I tell you all this is but an introduction, for I am now to mention his errand. He is an absolute philosopher with regard to money, titles, and power; and, for three years past, has been struck with a notion of founding a university at Bermudas, by a charter from the crown. He has seduced several of the hopefullest young clergymen, and others here, many of them well provided for, and all of them in the fairest way of preferment; but, in England, his conquests are greater, and, I doubt, will spread very far this winter. He showed me a little tract which he designs to publish, and there your excellency will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical,—I shall make you remember what you were,—of a college founded for Indian scholars and missionaries, where he most exorbitantly proposes a whole £100 a-year for himself, £40 for a fellow, and £10 for a student. His heart will break if his deanery be not taken from him, and left to your excellency's disposal. I discouraged him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible, and a vision; but nothing will do. And, therefore, I do humbly entreat your excellency either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in this kingdom, for learning and virtue, quiet at home, or assist him by your credit to compass this romantic design; which, however, is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage."

It would not, indeed, in the records of eminent men, be easy to find a parallel instance, in which a genuine and devoted regard to the higher and truer interests of mankind appears unadulterated with any of those baser elements which it is seldom difficult to detect in all human conduct. The love of money, "the root of all evil," did not, even in its least degree, adulterate the fervent charity that offered to relinquish £1,100 a-year for a salary of £100. Ambition seeks to sun itself in the smile of public life, and the sunshine of courts; but these allurements were as remote from the savage nature of the Summer Isles, as from a conventual cell. In adopting such a speculation, Berkeley resigned the pomps and vanities of earth, and elected a noble course of self-devotion to the good of mankind and the service of God, at the moment that fame, wealth, and preferment, were unfolding the most splendid prospects. The dean of Derry, with the universal favour and growing reputation of Berkeley, might well expect the utmost elevation of which his calling admitted. Nor to those who have rightly estimated the intellectual aspirations of a mind so speculative, will it be much to affirm, that the exchange of philosophical leisure for ardent practical labour in the cause of human welfare, indicates the vigour of the sentiments by which it was dictated. If these considerations be duly entertained, there is a singular interest in the contemplation of the long continued and strenuous exertions which Berkeley made for this strange plan of self-resignation. It is also not without interest to notice the effect of such a character in communi-

cating its warmth—three junior fellows in Trinity college entered with zeal into the scheme, and consented to exchange their hard-won prospects of independence for £40 a-year, and settlements in the Summer Isles.

To raise funds for his project, Berkeley sent a proposal to the king, George I., stating the value of certain lands in the island of St Christopher's, which were then about to be sold by government, and proposed that the proceeds of the sale might be applied to the foundation and building of his college. This was conveyed to the king by the Abbé Gualtiere, an eminent Venetian, with whom Berkeley had formed an intimacy during his travels. The king laid his commands on Walpole to introduce and conduct the proposal through the commons, and granted a charter for its institution, by the name of St Paul's college. The fate of this proceeding may be partly followed out by extracts from those letters in which it was mentioned by Berkeley. The college was to consist of a president and nine fellows, at £100, and £40, per annum, respectively, and to educate the Indians at the rate of £10 per scholar. The first president and fellows were to retain their preferments in England, or Ireland, for a year and a half from the date of their arrival in Bermuda. The matter was accordingly moved in the house of commons; and, on the 11th May, 1726, a vote was carried, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that out of the lands in St Christopher's, yielded by France to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, his majesty would be graciously pleased to make such grant for the use of the president and fellows of the college of St Paul's in Bermuda, as his majesty shall think proper." The king answered favourably, and £20,000 were promised by Walpole, in advance, on the security of the expected grant.

While matters were in this state, Berkeley married Miss Anne Forster, eldest daughter to the speaker of the Irish house of commons. This marriage occurred, 1st August, 1728, and, on the following month, he sailed with his wife for Rhode Island. He was also accompanied by a Mr Smilert, an artist; two gentlemen of fortune, Messrs James and Dalton; and a young lady of the name of Hancock. He had also raised a considerable sum of money from means or property of his own, and brought out a considerable library. It was his design to purchase what lands he could, on the nearest part of the continent, for the endowment of the new university; and these were to be paid for from the grant which he was assured should be forthcoming, so soon as the lands were selected, and the agreement completed for them. He took up his residence at Newport in Rhode Island, where he continued two years; during which time he occupied himself in preaching for the clergyman there.

From the correspondence of Berkeley with Prior, it first appears with what cost and exertion the charter had been obtained. By the time it had passed all the offices, it had cost him £130 in fees, "besides expedition-money to men in office." He was, at the same time, encumbered with some obstacles and delays about Miss Vanhomrigh's bequest, which appear to have been managed for him by Prior, and, after urging him to increased exertion, he adds—"I thank God I

find in matters of a more difficult nature, good effects of activity and resolution,—I mean Bermuda, with which my hands are full, and which seems likely to thrive and flourish in spite of all opposition." On May 12th, 1726, he alludes to the debate in the house of commons, in which none spoke against his motion but two mercantile men; and, among other incidents of the question, he mentions, that the fear entertained by the mercantile interest was, lest America might become independent by the advance of civilization.

We have already noticed the discrepancy which has often been found to exist between the motives of public bodies, and those by which individuals are governed,—a phenomenon of frequent occurrence, which it is not necessary to explain by the assumption of any degree of private corruption or baseness; though such, in numerous cases, will afford the most adequate explanations. But the too prevalent disposition to impute low motives must be, in some measure, checked by a consideration of some prevalence; though by no means so easily comprehended. Prudence, discretion, and the sense of personal responsibility, are the prevalent influences which favour the private counsels of the individuals; while the man, who is but one of the aggregate, and divested of these in proportion to the number with whom the weight of division is to be shared, is more accessible in nearly the same proportion to those more liberal, generous, or disinterested views, which eloquence, or the imposition of circumstances may call forth, and which all are disposed to indulge in at no cost. Hence splendid schemes of good will excite a public enthusiasm sufficient to deceive a single-minded being, who, like Berkeley, is ever ready to see the conduct and professions of mankind through the light of his own spirit. He thought all difficulties over in a single stage of his proceedings, when no person could have said or done otherwise than to approve of a measure, the advantages of which could not be denied, on any public ground, without first advancing reasons which would be both unpopular and untrue. But, on the part of practical politicians, (too generally men of a very inferior range of knowledge and views,) no large or decided plan for the promotion of human welfare, unconnected with some immediate interest, was likely to be sincerely entertained. To men like Walpole the Summer Island scheme was a chimera of speculation, and its author an amiable visionary: £20,000 was a serious outlay on a dream of Utopia; and, to an experienced observer of the world, its frustration might have been predicted. To Berkeley's simplicity, the address of the house was a decisive incident: the opposition of the council, which was silenced, and apparently set at rest by it, went for nothing. Everything seemed for a while to prosper; meetings and conferences were held to adjust the manner of the grant, and the legal difficulties were easily obviated. It was arranged to settle it by a rent-charge payable on the whole lands, redeemable on the crown paying £20,000 for the use of the president and fellows of the college of St Paul, and their successors. As the time drew nigh, Berkeley expressed great anxiety to pass three months in perfect seclusion, in some lodging near Dublin, and the reasons are not explained; but it may possibly have been to avoid the press and interruptions of society, while he transacted the necessary prelimi-

naries with his associates. His position was at least peculiar enough to make such interruptions peculiarly troublesome and jarring. The death of George I., for a moment, threw a passing cloud over his sanguine impatience,—the broad seal had not been annexed to the grant,—a new warrant had to be made out,—and several tedious delays had to be encountered. These delays were overcome, and, in February, he writes to Prior, "I need not repeat to you what I told you here, of the necessity there is for my raising all the money possible against my voyage, which, God willing, I shall begin in May, whatever you may hear suggested to the contrary." At last, in September, he writes, "To-morrow, with God's blessing, I set sail for Rhode Island with my wife and a friend of her's, my lady Hancock's daughter, who bears us company. I am married since I saw you to Miss Forster, daughter of the late chief-justice, whose humour and turn of mind pleases me beyond anything I knew in her whole sex." He then mentions that he shall want £300 before the income of his deanery was to become due. His next communication is a letter from Newport, in Rhode Island, in the April of the year 1729. He, at some length, describes the place, and mentions that the inhabitants consisted of a great variety of sects, each of which allowed the church of England to be the "second best." He expressed strong anxiety about the punctuality of his remittances, but does not yet appear to entertain any misgivings about the good faith of the government. His friends had gone to live at Boston, while he and his own immediate family, preferring domestic quiet to the bustle and noise of cities, lived on a small estate which he had purchased. "Among my delays and disappointments," he says, on March, 1730, "I have two domestic comforts that are very agreeable—my wife and son—both which exceed my expectations, and answer all my wishes." On May 7, 1730, he writes, "I must tell you that I have no intention of continuing in these parts, but to settle the college his majesty hath been pleased to found in Bermuda, and I want only the payment of the king's grant to transport myself and family thither." He adds, that his friend Dr Clayton was at the time engaged by his desire to negotiate, and that he had written directions to him to go to the treasury, with the letters patent in his hands, and there make the demand in form." He goes on, "I have wrote to others to use their interest at court; though, indeed, one would have thought all solicitation at an end, when once I had obtained a grant under his majesty's hand, and the broad seal of England. As to my going to London, and soliciting in person, I think it reasonable first to see what my friends can do; and the rather because I have small hopes that my solicitations will be regarded more than theirs. Be assured I long to know the upshot of this matter; and that, upon an explicit refusal, I am determined to return home, and that it is not at all in my thoughts to continue abroad and hold my deanery. It is well known to many persons in England that I might have had a dispensation for holding it in long absence during life, and that I was much pressed to it; but I resolutely declined it: and if our college had taken place as soon as I once hoped it would, I should have resigned before this time." After some further remarks of the same

general purport, he goes on to mention, "I have been at great expense in purchasing land and stock here, which might supply the defects of Bermuda in yielding those provisions to our college, the want of which was made a principal objection against its situation in that island." Among other things, it appears that letters took, in general, at the least, half-a-year, and oftener twice that time, in reaching him from Ireland. Talking of himself and his wife, who had at the time sustained a miscarriage, he says, "Our little son is great joy to us: we are such fools as to think him the most perfect thing in its kind that we ever saw."

It is mentioned by Dr Clarke that the settlement of affairs respecting the will of Miss Vanhomrigh with his joint executor, Mr Marshal, and with a Mr Vanhomrigh, involved Berkeley at this time in great trouble. From the extracts which Dr Clarke has given from his letters to Prior on the subject, it appears that, while all sorts of delay were caused by the refractory temper of Mr Vanhomrigh, the whole creditors of the testatrix were importunately pushing their claims. One of these extracts will serve our purpose here. "November 12, 1726.—I have sent to you so often for certain eclaircissemens, which are absolutely necessary to settle matters with the creditors, who importune me to death, you have no notion of the misery I have undergone, and do daily undergo on that account. For God's sake, pray disentangle these matters, that I may once be at ease to mind my other affairs of the college, which are enough to employ ten persons." He mentions in the same letter, "I have spent here a matter of £600 more than you know of, for which I have not yet drawn over."

Berkeley, in this interval, had exerted himself with all the vigour of his mind and body to bring the projected plan to a completion. At last all the arrangements were effected, and nothing remained but to give effect to the agreements he had entered into, by the necessary payments. But in this lay an obstacle not to be surmounted by industry, talent, and enthusiasm. Walpole had, from the first, been unfavourably inclined to the project; and it was probably by the exertion of his influence that the money which had been allotted for the grant was turned to some other use. The lands sold in St Christopher's brought £90,000; of this £80,000 went to pay the portion of the princess royal; the rest was obtained by general Oglethorpe for his new colony in America. Bishop Gibson, on Berkeley's part, applied to Sir Robert Walpole, and at last received the following answer:—"If you put this question to me as a minister, I trust, and can assure you, that the money shall most undoubtedly be paid as soon as suits with public convenience; but if you ask me as a friend whether dean Berkeley should continue in America, expecting the payment of £20,000, I advise him, by all means, to return home to Europe, and to give up his present expectations." This plain speaking had the effect of exposing to Berkeley the entire futility of the dependence on which he had thrown away so much good money and irretrievable time; and, after seven years of vain labour and expectation, he prepared for his return. He distributed his books among the clergy of Rhode Island, and was soon on his way to London. When he arrived

there, his first act was the repayment of the various subscriptions he had received for the advancement of his plan. It was in the interval immediately succeeding his return that he composed the most useful of his writings—the Minute Philosopher; in which he adopted the ancient method of the Socratic and Platonic dialogue, of which he gives the happiest example known in modern literature; and follows all the windings of scepticism through the different fields of fallacy, in which it has taken refuge at different times, according to the state of human opinion and knowledge; or, as Clarke writes, pursuing the "freethinker through the various characters of atheist, libertine, enthusiast, scorner, critic, metaphysician, fatalist, and sceptic; and very happily employs against him several new weapons drawn from the storehouse of his own ingenious system of philosophy." We cannot, indeed, agree with Dr Clarke in attaching any value to arguments drawn from a system of philosophy so baseless as that of Berkeley; but on this we must reserve our comment.

We have already had occasion to give some account of the court of the princess of Wales, and of her love for the society of the learned. Berkeley had the good fortune to hold a place in her esteem; and it is mentioned that Clarke and he were the principal persons in the discussions which frequently arose on those days which were devoted by her highness to these learned colloquies. Berkeley had indeed good need for all his ability to support his character for discretion and common sense, against some unfavourable impressions occasioned by his Bermuda scheme. The world is so deeply in earnest about its own peculiar pursuits, and so careless about those beyond them, that, while it theoretically assents to the importance of the latter, it yet commits the singular fallacy of treating them as fiction; and, so far is this practical inconsistency carried, that the few who are in full earnest in spiritual concerns, and who act on the principle of their reality, will, to some extent, be looked on as visionary, by the dull-headed and carnal-hearted crowd that verbally and formally admits what it practically rejects. Berkeley, whose simplicity and singleness of mind only followed out the principles of a christian divine, in a plan for the good of mankind, obtained the character of a visionary among the formal, sensual, and worldly-minded. And it is curious to observe that his really visionary speculations had no share in this; for the true province of human reason was yet too little understood. Such contemporaries as Clarke, and such successors as David Hume, amply indicate the error of the age, and show that philosophy was yet in its cradle. Though he was singularly disposed by nature for visionary speculation, Berkeley, in this respect, only took the bent of the time; his admirable ingenuity was the gift of nature, and his own. In the discussions to which we have adverted, it is mentioned that bishop Hoadly mostly took part with Clarke, while Sherlocke took Berkeley's side: when the "Minute Philosopher" was printed, he took it to the queen, and suggested that such a work could not be the production of one who possessed an unsound mind.

With the queen he soon became a favourite, and his preferment was a determined point. Neither was he long kept in suspense; though

a disappointment was the first result, it was only the means of securing his further elevation. The deanery of Down fell vacant, and he was named to succeed to it; but the duke of Dorset is said to have taken offence at such a step having been taken without his concurrence, and it was thought proper not to press the nomination. The queen, however, at once declared that if they would not suffer Dr Berkeley to be dean (this, however, he already was) in Ireland, he should be a bishop. She kept her promise. In 1736 Cloyne fell vacant, and he was, by letters patent, dated March 17th, in that year, preferred to that see; and in the May following he was consecrated in Dublin, at St Paul's church, by the archbishop of Cashell, with the bishops of Raphoe and Killaloe.

This account, which is that of the biographer from whom our main materials are drawn, is yet, in some slight particulars at variance with the account contained in the bishop's letters written upon the same occasion, though it is to be admitted that the difference may be but apparent, and consequent upon the different aspect in which the facts appeared at different times. By the bishop's account the recommendation came from the duke of Dorset, who was probably, nevertheless, but a consenting party to the wishes of the queen. The following is an extract from the letter written by Berkeley upon the occasion:—"January 22, 1734.—On the 5th instant the duke sent over his plan, wherein I was recommended to the bishoprick of Cloyne: on the 14th I received a letter from the secretary's office, signifying his majesty having immediately complied therewith, and containing the duke of Newcastle's very obliging compliment thereupon. In all this I was nothing surprised, his grace the lieutenant having declared, on this side the water, that he intended to serve me the first opportunity; though, at the same time, he desired me to say nothing of it. As to the A. B. D., (archbishop of Dublin, Dr Hoadly,) I readily believe he gave no opposition. He knew it would be to no purpose, and the queen herself had expressly enjoined him not to oppose me," &c. After which, he says, "Notwithstanding all of which I had a strong penchant to be dean of Dromore, and not to take the charge of a bishoprick upon me. Those who formerly opposed my being dean of Down have thereby made me a bishop; which rank, however desirable it may seem, I had before absolutely determined to keep out of."

Cloyne was let for £1,200 per annum at the time, and had a demesne of 800 acres to the see house. With this accession of wealth and dignity came, as if by virtue of a title, the gout, which paid its first visit in the beginning of February, about ten days after his appointment, and the bishop received the ordinary congratulations on both incidents together. "With my feet lapped up in flannels, and raised on a cushion, I received the visits of my friends, who congratulated me on this occasion as much as on my preferment."

The charges of his see were so considerable as much to diminish the immediate benefit of his promotion; and, upon the whole, he calculated that, after satisfying demands of every kind, his income would be less than £1,000 per annum.

We may pass the slight circumstances attendant on his removal to Cloyne. He received many recommendations from friends or persons in power, of those upon whom they wished that his patronage should be bestowed. To these he resolved to pay no attention, but to confine his services of that description to "ingenuity, learning, and good qualities."

His time, and that of his household, appears to have been divided and disposed to produce the greatest amount both of profit and pleasant recreation. He rose at a very early hour, and summoned his family to a lesson on the bass viol, from an Italian, whom he retained for the purpose. The still more suitable devotion of the morning, in the house of a christian prelate, cannot have been neglected, though not considered unusual enough to be recorded by his biographer. From that his day was spent in study. Of his ordinary avocations at Cloyne, a few incidental notices occur, from time to time, in his correspondence, which is, however, mostly engrossed by matters which were then of more importance, though now of far less. We easily ascertain that he gave time, thought, and money, for the health and comfort of the poor in his diocese, and took a leading part in every plan of utility. There were vast numbers of the peasantry carried off by a fatal epidemic, in 1741, and the bishop was active in his endeavours to mitigate the evil. He was no less attentive to the public interests in every question which attracted attention by its weight; and the fruits are yet to be found in several compositions to be found among his works.

He had no desire to advance his circumstances by change. In 1747, when the primacy became vacant, and several of the bishops were earnestly advancing their claims, he was strongly urged to make application for himelf; but this he resolutely refused. We extract a few lines from one of his letters:—"I am no man's rival or competitor in this matter. I am not in love with feasts, and crowds, and visits, and late hours, and strange faces, and a hurry of affairs often insignificant. For my own private satisfaction, I had rather be master of my time than wear a diadem." Another letter to the same correspondent, says, "As to what you say, that the primacy would have been a glorious thing —for my part, I do not see, all things considered, the glory of wearing the name of a primate in these days, or of getting so much money—a thing every tradesman in London may get, if he pleases—I should not choose to be primate, in pity to my children." About the same time an article was inserted in the public papers, which, being also found among the bishop's papers, and seeming to relate incidents of his history, has been attributed to him. It was written upon the recent shocks of an earthquake, felt in London, and is remarkable for the narration of several curious particulars, communicated to the writer in Catania, by count Fezzani, who was witness, and a sufferer in the frightful earthquake which destroyed that place, and more than three-fourths of its population, in 1692. Of these one may be here mentioned. "The count was dug out of the ruins of his own house, which had overwhelmed about twenty persons,—only seven whereof got out

alive. Though he rebuilt his house with all its former accommodations, yet he ever after lay in a small adjoining apartment, made of reeds plastered over. Catania was rebuilt more regular and beautiful than ever: the houses, indeed, are lower, and the streets broader than before, for security against future shocks. By their account, the first shock seldom or never doth the mischief; but the *repliche*, as they term them, are to be dreaded."

In July, 1746, we ascertain that Berkeley's picture was painted by his wife, and sent as a present to Prior. The bishop thus mentions it: "It is an offering of the first-fruits of her painting. She began to draw in last November, and did not stick to it closely, but by way of amusement, only at leisure hours. For my part, I think she shows a most uncommon genius; but others may be supposed to judge more impartially than I. My two younger children are beginning to employ themselves in the same way. In short, here are two or three families in Imokilly bent on painting; and I wish it was more general among the ladies and idle people, as a thing that may divert the spleen, improve the manufactures, and increase the wealth of the nation. We will endeavour to profit by our lord-lieutenant's advice, and kindle up new arts with a spark of his public spirit." The picture here mentioned, after Mr Prior's death, in 1751, went into the possession of the Rev. Mr Archdal, of Dublin, and is now, we believe, the same which hangs in the hall of the university of Dublin. From these, and some further notices among these letters, it is evident that, in addition to what active and useful benevolence maintained in the external economy and occupations of the bishop and his household, their hours of domestic leisure were filled by pursuits of improvement, and ruled by cultivated taste. We also trace in such notices the first impulses of the school of British art, at the same time, or soon after, beginning to arise, when, in the following reign, our countryman Barry, with West and Reynolds, Wilson and Gainsborough, led the van, and dispelled the reproach of English genius. Similar interest appears also to have been taken in the cultivation of music. Considerable efforts were made to procure the best instruments, among which the bass viol seems to have occupied a principal share of the bishop's care. A musical teacher was taken into the family, to instruct all the children; so that, as the bishop wrote, they were "preparing to fill my house with harmony at all events,"—Mrs Berkeley adding to her other accomplishments that of song, and, in her husband's opinion, "inferior to no singer in the kingdom." In a letter of invitation to Mr Gervais, he says, "Courtiers you will here find none, and but such virtuosi as the country affords—I mean in the way of music, for that is at present the reigning passion at Cloyne. To be plain, we are musically mad."

In those portions of the bishop's correspondence which we have seen, there is transfused the happiest vein of all the best affections of human nature, combined with an easy and graceful wit, and a polished refinement of thought and style, hardly to be found united in the same degree, in any other letters we can recollect. Altogether, they help us to conceive the quiet flow of a well-employed, peaceful, and refined

state of life; and the charm of the serene vale of Cloyne, with which the philosophic bishop was so enamoured, that, in 1745, he refused the offer from lord Chesterfield, of an exchange for Clogher, which would have doubled his income.

From time to time he continued to write and publish pamphlets on various topics of public concern, which had very considerable effect. His Queries were printed in 1735; a Discourse addressed to Magistrates, in 1736; Maxims concerning Patriotism, in 1750; all, now collected in his works, remain memorials of his wisdom and zeal for the public good.

In 1744, was published his celebrated treatise on the Virtues of Tar-water, under the title of Siris. It is remarkable for the proof it contains of vast and various knowledge, and of a curious and imaginative intellect. Commencing with tar-water, he ascends, by a connected series of reflections, to the utmost reach of thought.

In 1752, he put into execution a design which had for many years occupied his mind. As his health began to give way to a sedentary habit, unsuited to his robust frame of body, and his enjoyments began more to depend on the communion of learned society; and when, perhaps, he began to feel a sense of diminished capability for the important duties of his station, a wish began to grow for the retirement of a university. To such a mode of existence he always had a strong inclination. The entry of his son in Oxford university, seems to have given the determining impulse to his resolution. He had, indeed, fallen into a very distressing state of health; a colic which "rendered life a burthen to him" for a time, had given way to sciatica; and when he landed in England he was compelled to travel in a horse-litter to Oxford.

As he was deeply sensible of the obligations of a bishop to his diocese, he endeavoured to obtain an exchange for some canonry at Oxford. When that failed, he wrote to the secretary of state for leave to resign his bishopric. The king was astonished at so unusual a petition; he declared that Berkeley should die a bishop in spite of himself, but gave permission that he might reside wherever he pleased.

The last act of Berkeley on leaving Cloyne was, to sign a lease of the demesne lands of the see, in the neighbourhood of his dwelling, for £200 per annum, of which he directed the distribution among the poor housekeepers of Cloyne, Youghal, and Aghadoe, till his return.

His residence in Oxford was not long. On Sunday evening, Jan. 14, 1753, as he was sitting among his family, and engaged in listening to a sermon of Sherlock's, which Mrs Berkeley was reading to him, he expired so quietly that the fact was not perceived till some time after, when his daughter approached to hand him a cup of tea, and perceived that he was insensible. On further examination, he was found to be cold and stiff. The disease is stated by his biographer to have been a palsy of the heart.

He was interred in Christ Church, Oxford, and a marble monument erected by Mrs Berkeley, for which an inscription was written by Dr

Markham, the head master of Winchester, and afterwards archbishop of York. It is as follows:—

Gravissimo præsuli
Georgio, Episcopo Clonensi:
Viro,
Seu ingenii et eruditionis laudem,
Seu probitatis & beneficentiæ spectemus
In primos omnium ætatum numerando.
Si Christianus fueris,
Si amans patriæ,
Utroque nomine gloriari potes
Berkleium vixisse.
Obiit annum agens Septuagesimum tertium:
Natus anno Christi M.DC.LXXIX.
Anna Conjux
L. H. P.

There is, it is observable, an error of ten years in the statement of his age. Having been born in March, 1684, he died in January, 1753, which gives nearly 69 years of age at his death.

The moral character of Berkeley, if not sufficiently indicated in the foregoing memoir, is universally known to all who take any interest in literary history.

He is described as "a handsome man, with a countenance full of meaning and benignity; remarkable for great strength of limbs; and, till his sedentary life impaired it, of a very robust constitution."

It remains to offer some account of his principal writings, which must always fix his place high among that class who have taken to themselves the title of philosophers.

The estimate of Berkeley, as a metaphysical writer, is attended with those difficulties which must needs belong to questions which have no real data, and on which human opinion and subtlety can be exercised without limit. To see his intellectual character rightly, and to form some estimate of the tendencies so strongly and curiously displayed in his most eminent compositions, it may be useful to keep in view the peculiarities already pointed out in this memoir; his disposition to reject the conventions and received notions of society, and to turn, with fearless, but not always prudent or fortunate independence, to seek new methods and inferences for himself. This tendency, common, we are inclined to suspect, to a large class of reasoners, is pre-eminently characteristic of Berkeley. With the keenest perception of logical fallacy, he was, in some measure, the slave, rather than the master, of a boundless ingenuity in the invention of reasons: all that could be said for or against any opinion which it was his will, or which he considered it fit and right to maintain, and contest, seems to have been before him. But, far less sagacious in selecting than in maintaining, it depended on the previous truth or fallacy of his proposition whether his reasoning was to be just or the contrary. To the result, his understanding appears comparatively indifferent; in the selection of data, not scrupulous; but, in the chain of intermediate reasoning, he is perhaps unmatched. The subtlety, the invention, and

intellectual daring, which rendered him a formidable opponent to all other sophists, were always ready to betray himself into error. Upon the whole, he affords a remarkable instance of the danger of maintaining truth by those weapons which have usually been employed in the propagation of error—a range of subtlety and specious invention which are not fit to be employed upon realities that, so far as human apprehension can go, are too gross and palpable for such nice and insubstantial instruments.

Of these remarks, Berkeley's philosophical writings offer the very aptest examples. We shall begin with some notice of his celebrated immaterial theory; but for this, (according to our view of the question,) a brief digression is required.

The origin of the entire class of reasoners among which Berkeley is to be numbered, may, perhaps, be referred to the conception of a pure intellectual science, by which mind and its laws might be reduced to a system reasoned out from assumed definitions, as in geometry. This at least will, for the present, serve our purpose, as it is involved, as a primary assumption, in the whole theories of Berkeley, Hume, &c.; and is a very main consideration often essential to the tracing of their errors and fallacies.

Mr Locke, who, in point of fact, is the great antagonist of all metaphysical assumptions, and who, in his attempts to reason from observation alone, fell into some errors of method, which were in a measure incidental to such a (then) daring innovation; justly estimating the importance of unambiguous language as an instrument of communication, failed to notice and guard against the error which was then, and is still, liable to result from the use of definitions, in an inquiry upon a subject so little known as that upon which he was engaged. To define the fundamental assumption on which a theory is to be constructed, as in pure geometry, is an essential law of right reason; but in the *a posteriori* road to the analysis of existing facts, it is a most preposterous inversion of the only available process: this must begin by the observation of actual phenomena, which are the only admissible principles. In metaphysical science, the definition must be the end not the beginning; and it is to be observed, by the way, that all the vague and inconclusive writing of this entire class of writers since Locke, has arisen from their anxiety upon the subject of a precise nomenclature. To the distinct notice of such an error, there was in fact nothing to lead Mr Locke—he did not himself fall into it, but he did not guard against it, and his followers were misled by an imagined precedent. It had, till his time, been the universal custom to define for the purpose of theory—he defined, but it was only for clearness; and the consequence has unhappily been confusion. But, in Mr Locke's reasonings no error was thus incurred; because, in fact, he did not make any use of the definition thus laid down, but proceeded to exercise his sagacity upon phenomena alone.

He was soon followed by a succession of genuine metaphysicians, who, for the most part, misunderstood his language so far as it had direct meaning, and adopted his error as a foundation for their researches. His definition of a simple idea, false *in terms*, was not so in the intent of Mr Locke. While he availed himself of it no further than

it was true, they seized upon it in its *verbal* sense, in which it was a most extravagant assumption, and followed it out with a fidelity irrespective of facts, which, as it were, stared them in the face.

Mr Locke has, we should observe, been subsequently mistaken by both critics and students, who were far from falling into the errors of Berkeley and Hume. Of these all have agreed that his definition is erroneous; but many have committed the oversight of insisting that he meant the error it contains, because the same error frequently appears involved in his language; while some, very justly, if they went but a little further—have observed that this language is frequently inconsistent.

But such was the result of having an unguarded definition, and a loose language, while not a single stage of his reasoning ever depended on either, but upon a very close observation of the intellectual phenomena. It was only that he might be understood that he defined; but, not designing any system constructed out of his use of words, he neglected to perceive to what consequences his definitions exposed him. And to those who are under the impression that he meant more than is here assigned, we must suggest that, although he obviously endeavours to use the same words in the same sense, yet he never, in any one instance, attempts to theorize upon this definition. From this definition, indeed, the consequences are so plain, that it must have led him very much into Berkeley's view. How then is it—it may be asked—that Locke has fallen into an error seemingly so gross? We think it obviously thus: the elementary phenomena of the mind are, so far as we know them, more simple than any thing or fact by which they can be explained—they can be referred to no genus, and *cannot be defined.* The attempt involves some assumption for which there can be no warrant, and therefore involves some theory which is unlikely to be true, and impossible to prove.

But Locke actually did not intend a logical definition—he fell into such, inadvertently, in the attempt to give *a meaning.* This was the process of his mind. As this book is to be about *ideas,* I must begin by telling what I mean by an idea; for, though it is a word which every person of common sense understands very well, yet the philosophers, whose extreme penetration is too great to understand anything, may, as they have done, object or assign some scholastic sense, conformable with old theories. By an idea, I mean no more than the thought which passes through the mind when thinking, whatever it may be; that is to say, the object of the mind in thinking. This unhappy periphrasis for the word *thought* was liable to an obvious construction, by simply turning an idiom of speech into scientific precision. Had Locke said, "the act of the mind when thinking, or the state, or process," this error would have been escaped, though other fallacies might have been devised by human ingenuity. But it was easy to see that this *object* of the mind must be something distinct from the mind itself, and it was easy to prove it to be distinct from any external thing.

But let us now turn to the consequences deduced by Berkeley from this fruitful error.

If a *simple idea* is the object perceived by the mind, and if it can

be shown that it has no ascertainable relation to the external thing of which it is the supposed representative, it becomes plain that there is no certain evidence of the real existence of the thing of which such uncertain representations are thus presented to the mind. In this point the entire of Berkeley's argument will be found. Among the various fallacies which are comprised in it, besides that which we have noticed at length, there are others also worth observation. Were we to grant the unwarrantable definition, the argument, at most, but goes to prove what should in common sense have been seen at the outset, that the actual existence of external things cannot be demonstrated from the *mere* fact of our perceptions. Of this Berkeley had a full sense; and, consequently, his conclusion is afterwards stated by himself to be, not that the external world does not exist, but that we have no direct perception of its existence, and that this existence is in the mind of God, in which we perceive it,—that is to say, that those ideas which are the actual objects of the mind in thinking, are ideas in the mind of God.

Now, it is curious with what narrow precision Berkeley has, in the course of this argument, excluded on every side every portion of fact which did not suit his reasoning. For, granting the idea to be a distinct object, still, those very variations of appearance, and that want of unchanging coincidence between the idea and the thing, from which he disproves the evidence which the senses are supposed to give of such things, are so far from correctly leading to such a conclusion, that they are absolutely the very best proof that can be found of the reality of external phenomena. They are the *demonstrable* and calculable results of the properties of external phenomena—distance, motion, magnitude, &c.; insomuch, that a much better argument can be constructed from the same considerations *for*, than *against*, the direct evidence of our perceptions. We do not mean to affirm that this would amount to a demonstration; but it would certainly destroy the force of any opposite inference from the same premises. And, what is equally curious, were those variations and differences wanting, the fact would lead with far more conclusiveness to Berkeley's theory. Could we perceive no differences of degree in operations and processes, it is evident that we could not perceive them at all: it would imply a contradiction in terms. If we could see a house at the distance of a mile, and at twenty yards, so as to give precisely the same image, we should have demonstration against the evidence of sight.

As for our perception of ideas in the mind of the Supreme Being, it seems to contain a strange oversight. It is indeed evident to what an extent Berkeley, and all the reasoners of his class, have reasoned exclusively on certain words and definitions, so as entirely to shut out all the ordinary conditions inseparably connected with all knowledge. If this proposition were simply to be confined to a certain limited class of ideas, which are those evidently contemplated by Berkeley, it would be difficult to deal with his assertion. But what is true of a simple idea, is universally true of every idea on the very same ground; and, consequently, the whole farrago of human folly, sin, error, and contradiction, must be the substance of the divine thoughts—even the doubts of his existence must be among the heterogeneous mass.

When he affirms or attempts to prove that things can have no real existence distinct from their being perceived, it is quite plain that his asserting that he does not deny their real existence, amounts to nothing; for such is not the meaning of real existence. The arguments by which he reduces things to ideas absolutely destroy their *real* existence, in any sense but that of a fleeting succession of contradictory thoughts.

To pursue this question farther is beyond our limits, and the design of this work. Berkeley was accused of overlooking the statements of the Scripture with respect to the creation—the consideration which stopped Malebranche. But, indeed, it is easy to see how Berkeley could dispose of such an objection. It would be no long step to transfer Scripture to the mind from which it came; yet the answer, too, is ready—Scripture is not merely a train of ideas, but of affirmations and negations about an external state of things, and these must be true or false.

We must now pass to another Essay of less importance, did it not curiously illustrate all the same dispositions of the mind,—the zeal that would maintain truth by any power of sophistry, or even at the sacrifice of reason itself. As arguments drawn from the properties of matter had been used in support of atheism, he thought it a sufficient reason for the denial of the existence of matter; so, as an eminent mathematician had thought it reasonable to assail Christianity on the ground of its mysteries, Berkeley made an attack on an important branch of mathematics on the same ground.

There is, indeed, in the very conception, a singular oversight in Berkeley's Analyst. To answer the alleged intention of his argument, it should run thus,—You affirm that Christianity is untrue, because it consists of certain mysteries; I will show you that there are similar mysteries in mathematics, *which is true nevertheless.* Now, if this argument should be conducted *by showing the fallacy* of these mathematical mysteries, it simply rejects them as false mathematics, or, at best, leaves the objection of the deist untouched; for, to complete the analogy in which the answer consists, the mysteries of Christianity should also be given up. If, however, Berkeley had shown that such contradictions, or such inconclusive reasonings as he points out in the fluxionary calculus are such but apparently, and by reason of the fact that the secret of the intellectual process had not been found out, he would then have precisely done what he proposed; for, the mysteries of divine truth are nothing more in this respect than facts, of which but part is known, and which are not within the limits of human knowledge.

When we first chanced to look at the Analyst, we were under the impression that such was actually the design of Berkeley, and that his controversial tone and allegations of sophistry were but the trick of reasoning to set the point in its broadest light. But, in fact, he is bitterly and angrily sincere, and seems altogether to lose sight of his purpose in the heat of controversy. The argument, however, exhibits both the acuteness of his reason, and—may we venture to say it?—the unsoundness of his judgment. To grant his conclusion and take the question in its most difficult aspect; a certain process, one of the steps of which is a false assumption, leads, by some process not

intelligible, to a result *uniformly* correct. Now, what is the objection?—briefly and substantially it is this,—the conclusion is not attained by any known process of logic. This would be fair enough if any known process of logic could, from the same conditions fairly used, prove the possible fallacy of the conclusion: to do this, however, we have to observe, not only the ascertained process must be tried by this test, but the *secret* condition must be included. This is, by the hypothesis, impossible. Next, it is to be considered that if Berkeley's view be correct, the true result is obtained by a compensation of errors. It is evident that there can be no fallacy in the reasoning of the process, unless this compensation can be shown also to be *accidental*—this is not alleged, and the argument correctly stated on his view would be this,—there is a certain method of reasoning which discovers truth by the compensation of opposite errors. The fact is this,—the initial statement makes an omission, which the conclusion rectifies by a necessity arising from the hypothesis itself. But if the compensation is just, and the uniform result of a process, there is no fallacy; it is simply one of the processes of reason in the discovery of truth. It is either a new law, or reducible to an old law of logic; but the argument, which when correctly used leads to a true conclusion, is not a sophism. It is curious enough that Berkeley's objection to the calculus is, in fact, the principle into which Carnot resolves it.

But indeed it is not difficult to perceive that the errors supposed are merely resources of calculation—the actual logic contains no contradiction, which is really to be found in Berkeley's mistake as to the intent and real process of the argument. Berkeley's main objection, may, for clearness, be resolved into two. That the reader, who is not conversant with such questions, may understand these, a simple statement of the nature of the reasoning to which he objects will be necessary. If certain variable quantities are so related to each other, that as one of them is taken greater or less, the other will also increase or diminish according to some ascertained law, and that it is desired to ascertain the state which is the limit of those changes. A statement of the known conditions is made in a form called an equation, which is supposed to represent the variable quantities, together with their supposed increments and decrements. This equation is not, as in common algebra, a statement in which all the values are supposed *fixed*, and serving to ascertain the *precise value* of the unknown from the given quantities. It is, in fact, the statement of a hypothesis *essentially implying the contrary*, and made for the purpose of reasoning on a state of *continued* change; consequently, it represents an *initial state*, from which a final state is to be deduced: therefore, it is evident that the very law of reason to which Berkeley objects, is *the accurate logic of the question;* for, a hypothesis must be made in the first equation, which must disappear in the last. The *question* is,—if such increments go on continually lessening, and may be assumed therefore indefinitely small or nothing, what will be the consequence? But there is in the objection, to which this is the answer, another sophism: Berkeley attempts to show that the equation is false, and, strictly speaking, it is so, according to the laws of common algebra;

tried by the assumed test it would be found to want certain quantities. But these are the very quantities which must necessarily go out by the very principle above stated—terms which would add much complication in the reasoning, and have no effect in the conclusion, and have, therefore, by a universal rule of reason, been omitted in a compendious process, which does better without them. Now, one of Berkeley's arguments consists in a calculation by which he makes these quantities appear,—which the ordinary method of fluxions does not exhibit. He thus appears to falsify the ordinary process. But the reply to this objection is, that the omission of certain considerations, for the convenience of an argument, in which it is essentially implied that they are unimportant, is not a fallacy. The equation, in its first form, is a statement of the *effective conditions* of a question; and all Berkeley's objections could be met by simply adding *et cetera*. So far relates to the algebraic method: the answer is, however, completed by a consideration which will lead to the other point. The reason why the omission is of no importance is this: that the variables being supposed to pass through all the successive states of magnitude, while the increments, or decrements, diminish to a certain state, in which they cease to exist—the question is, to determine or prove this state. And this is determined by assuming the symbol expressing the increment to be $= 0$, the equation must then be such as to indicate the sought *limit;* and the quantities which were involved in the omitted part of the difference, must have ceased to exist. If the question were, what would be the result, supposing the variables to *stop half way*—all Berkeley's reasoning would be conclusive, so far as it applies. Against the conclusion itself, he offers another curious cavil. But the mathematical reader does not require this exposition; and for the reader unversed in such considerations, we have perhaps gone to the utmost limit of clearness. Berkeley's objection to any conclusion being founded on a ratio, of which the quantities are evanescent, has been anticipated by Newton, in a scholium, contained in the first section of the first book of his Principia. We shall, therefore, here conclude with the observation, that Newton's own statement of the intent of his method should have set Berkeley on a juster course of reasoning. "But because the hypothesis of indivisibles appears more hard, and, therefore, that method has been considered less geometrical, I have thought fit rather to found the demonstrations of the following propositions upon the *first* and *last* sums and ratios of nascent and evanescent quantities; that is, to the *limits* of those sums and ratios."* It is, if just, curious enough, that Berkeley's objection, to what he calls an erroneous equation, might be obviated by the addition of an "&c."

If the reader should desire to see Berkeley's powers to advantage, he must look for them in his attacks upon the sophistry of others,—in the Minute Philosopher, and in portions of his Theory of Vision.

We have, in this memoir, sufficiently noticed the first of these excellent compositions.

* "Sed quoniam durior est indivisibilium hypothesis, et propterea minus geometricæ censetur; malui demonstrationes rerum sequentium ad ultimas quantitatum evanescentium summas et rationes, primasque nascentium, id est, ad limites summarum et rationum deducere."

His new theory of vision is curious for the mixed evidence it gives of the disposition of his understanding to the illusions of his own subtlety, and the clearness of his apprehension when judging of the fallacies of others. It indeed seems not a little curious how much of the sounder portion of his conclusions appears to be the result of his more unsound reasonings. In his disproof of the external world, he dissipates the erroneous doctrines of abstract ideas. His Theory of Vision, evidently composed for the same purpose, in the same manner draws from him the most admirable details, and the rectification of old fallacies. But the subject occupies much of the attention of the present time, and would lead us too far for any purpose connected with these memoirs.

III. LITERARY SERIES.

Michael Cleary.

BORN A.D. ——.—DIED A.D. 1643.

OF MICHAEL CLEARY very little is satisfactorily known, and we should, for this reason, consider ourselves absolved from any notice of him, but for the place which he occupies in the history of our Irish literature. This topic, so far as relates to the commencement of the present division of these memoirs, must be regarded as rather belonging to the antiquarian than to the historical biographer. But it is necessary, as briefly as we may, to account for our neglect of the very numerous poets who lived in the earlier half of the 17th century, and whose writings are yet extant. For this there are sufficient reasons: there are no materials for their personal histories, and their writings are not extant in any published form. The great celebrity of a renowned author of unpublished poetry might impose it upon us to give some account of his works; but great indeed must be the importance of the writings to which such a tribute would be excusable here, and whatever may be the collective worth of the bards and historians of the period included in these remarks, there are, individually, few instances which demand the distinction of a memoir. We might, by the help of some very accessible authorities, easily continue in this period the barren list of unknown poets, which helped to fill the vacuity of our previous period; but, on looking very carefully over those materials, we are unable to perceive what purpose would be served by such a waste of our space, already contracting too fast for the important matter yet before us.*

In that portion of the introductory observations allotted to the gene-

* We should here apprize the reader that the seeming disproportion, between the space which we have given to the ecclesiastics and the literary persons belonging to this period, is to be explained by the fact, that the most respectable of our writers hold also a prominent rank among our ecclesiastical dignitaries of the same period.

ral consideration of Irish literature, we have endeavoured to give some general notices of the character and importance of this unknown but numerous class of writings, which lie concealed, though not inaccessible, in the archives of colleges, and in public and private libraries. The individual whose name affords us occasion for these remarks, was a native of Ulster, and a Franciscan friar. He was early in life known as learned in the antiquities of his country, and as having a critical acquaintance with the Irish tongue. These qualifications recommended him to Mr Hugh Ward as a fit person to collect information for his projected history of the Irish saints, for which purpose he was sent to the Irish college in Louvain. The materials which he collected in the course of fifteen years passed into the hands of Colgan, by the death of Ward.

Cleary at the same time collected materials, which he reduced into three volumes of Irish history, of which the letters are mentioned by Ware.

He was one of the compilers of the "Annals of Donegal"—a MS. of the greatest authority in the antiquities of Ireland. His last work was a Dictionary of the obsolete words in the Irish Language, published in 1643, the year of his death.

John Colgan.

BORN A.D. ——.—DIED A.D. 1658.

COLGAN was a Franciscan in the Irish convent of St Anthony of Padua, in Louvain, where he was professor of divinity. He collected and compiled a well-known work of great authority among antiquarians, and of considerable use in some of the earlier memoirs of this work.

His writings were numerous; and all, we believe, on the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland. His death, in 1658, prevented the publication of many of them.

Geoffrey Keating.

BORN A.D. ——.—DIED A.D. 1650.

KEATING, well known as the writer of an antiquarian history of Ireland—of great authority for the general fulness with which it preserves the traditionary accounts of the earliest times, though liable to some rather hasty censures for the indiscriminate combination of the probable and improbable into one digested narrative, and in the language of implicit belief. Such a work is, nevertheless, the most certain and authentic record of the ancient belief of the learned and unlearned of the land; and if the facts be not true in themselves, they evidently characterize the mind of a period, while, generally speaking, there is every reason to give credit to the more important parts of the narrative; and, above all, to the genealogical traditions of the ancient families of chiefs and kings. It is by no means a just inference that

they who entertain superstitious notions, and believe the absurdest mythological fables and traditions, are, therefore, to be discredited in their statements of the ordinary facts of history; in the former, both the senses which observe, and the faithfulness which records, are wholly uninvolved—the facts belong to a different class of things, and a man may believe a fable, yet speak truth in the concerns of life. When a historian's authority, or the authorities on which he writes, are to be questioned, the question must be,—is the relation honest, and are the facts such as to admit of natural error? Now, in Keating's history, the line of demarcation between truth and error will, in the main, be easily seen. It will be at once observed, that the mere fact of the existence of a large body of ancient literature, with all the extant remains and traditions of Ireland, undeniably prove the existence of some old state of civil order different from anything now existing, and as far removed from the savage state. Such a state of things must needs have left some record stamped with the form, and having at least all the main outlines of the truth; and it may be asked where this record—of which the absence would be more improbable than any part of Irish history—can be found, if not in those very traditions which are the genuine remains of Irish literature, and the authorities of old Keating. The facts are, it is true, often strangely involved with fable; but there is no instance in which the discrimination of an unbiassed intellect cannot at once make the due allowance.

Keating studied for twenty-three years in the college of Salamanca. On his return to Ireland he was appointed to the parish of Tybrid, which he soon resigned. He is said to have been driven into concealment by the hostility of a person whose mistress he excommunicated. This person having threatened to murder him, he took refuge in a wood between the Galty mountains and the town of Tipperary; and in this retirement he wrote his history in the Irish language.

He was buried in the church of Tybrid, founded by himself and his successor, in 1644.

His history was translated into English by a Mr Dermod O'Conor, whose version is considered to have many inaccuracies. Another translation was since commenced by a Mr William Halliday, an Irish scholar of great reputation. His task was cut short by an early death. He had proceeded so far as the Christian era, and published a thin octavo, which has induced much regret among antiquarians that he did not live to complete his undertaking.

Keating's other writings are of slight importance—they are a few poems and professional treatises.

The Hon. Robert Boyle.

BORN A.D. 1626.—DIED A.D. 1691.

THE account of the early infancy of this most illustrious Irishman has been written by himself under the title of Philalethes. This period of his life was subject to more casualties and changes than are often known to occur in the maturer age of the generality of men; and this,

indeed, in a manner and to an extent, which the character of our more civilized times can scarcely be conceived to admit of. At the age of three his mother died, and his intellect and moral temper were, at that early age, sufficiently mature to comprehend and feel this irreparable deprivation. The well-known activity of his ambitious father, the first earl of Cork—a man ever on the stretch in the pursuit of fortune and power—left his home often without a master, and his children without a parent. To these sources of casualty may be added the frequent necessity of removal and travelling through a wild and unsettled country, and under the charge of menials. On the road, the robber lurked among the rugged mountain-passes, and in the concealment of the bordering woods; on the British channel the pirate roamed without restraint; and the Turkish galley infested and defied the very coasts, which have now so long been sacred from such insults and dangers.

At three years of age he had a narrow escape from being drowned, by the fall of the horse on which he was carried, in crossing a deep and rapid brook which was swollen by the rains. At seven, he tells us that he had a still more remarkable escape from being crushed to death by the fall of the ceiling of the chamber in which he slept.

At three years of age he was sent to Eton, of which the provost was then Sir Henry Wotton, an intimate friend of his father's. Here he was placed under the immediate tuition of Mr Harrison, who, it is said, had the sagacity to discover the unusual capacity and the singular moral tendencies of his pupil, even at that early age, as well as the skill to adapt his moral and intellectual treatment to so promising a subject. Perceiving the indications of a mind unusually apprehensive and curious, he was careful that these happy inclinations should not want for exercise; and, as he had a willing mind to deal with, he avoided damping, in any degree, the voluntary spirit, by even the semblance of a constraint, which, in common cases, is of such primary necessity. By this method, so applicable in this peculiar instance, the ardour for information, which seems to have been so providentially implanted in the youthful philosopher's mind, became so intensely kindled, that it became necessary to employ some control, for the purpose of forcing him to those intermissions of rest and needful exercise for which boys are commonly so eager. Harrison meanwhile watched over the extraordinary youth with a zealous, intelligent, and assiduous care, ever ready to answer his questions, and to communicate knowledge in the form of entertaining discourse.

The main object of his studies at Eton was the acquisition of classical knowledge, and he soon attained a considerable intimacy with the best writers of antiquity. He himself has mentioned, that the accidental perusal of Quintus Curtius had the effect of awakening his imagination, in an extraordinary degree, and thus excited in his mind an increased thirst for historical knowledge.*

* It is curious to compare the impressions communicated by the same circumstance to different minds. We extract the following from a well-known periodical:—"The effect which the same romantic historian is said to have produced on Charles XII., is, however, more direct and natural. In reading of the feats of

We must confess to some difficulty in distinctly appreciating such an impulse from such a cause, further than as the transient impression of an hour, which the next would dispel. The excitements of Quintus Curtius are scarcely to be expected in the page of regular history. A more natural impulse is attributed to the accident of his being initiated in the range of romantic fiction, which was, we are bound to say, a most grievous error, which cannot be too strenuously deprecated in these pages, and which we shall therefore pause to discuss more fully. The circumstances are these:—During his stay at Eton he was attacked by a fit of the tertian ague, of such severity and duration, that his constitution, naturally delicate, became very much debilitated, and a long time elapsed before he recovered his strength sufficiently for the purpose of his studies. In this condition it occurred to his tutor—who, after all, was more of the scholar than the philosopher—to indulge his craving and restless mind by the perusal of novels and romances. Some reflections in a contemporary memoir, on the same incident, convey our sentiments with so much truth that we shall here extract them,—"As might be presumed, the effect was to leave on his mind a distaste for less stimulative aliment, and to excite his mind to a state of undue activity. The sense of martial ardour,—the pride and stimulus of military emulation, ambition, and danger,—the physical sympathies of action, with all the vain glories of romance, were acted on and called forth. He became a castle-builder and a dreamer. He makes a remark on this subject, of which we have long since had occasion to learn the value—that it is unfortunate for those who have busy thoughts to be without timely employment for their activity. Such, indeed, is the misfortune which—worse than even the corruptions of passion—has consigned many a high and far-grasping intellect to a life of dreams. Gambling, and debauchery, and the seductions of sense, are not more sure in their fatal effects, so uninterruptible in their course, or so seductive, as this refined and intellectual fascination,—more sure and dangerous, because it operates in loneliness, and finds its good within itself. When the imagination is once fairly seized with this self-seeking desire, even the slightest thing that occurs, or that is seen, read, or heard of, is enough to give it impulse and direction, and the heart acts the hero or voluptuary's part; the Augustus, or Nero, or Heliogabulus; the Paris, or Achilles; and, in its own secluded recess, rules or disposes of more worlds than Alexander could have conquered. There is an interest in finding our infirmities reflected in a mind like Boyle's; but it is both instructive and encouraging to learn, by what timely resolution and prudence, in the

Alexander he was affected by a sympathy of a kindred mind, and became a warrior. Quintus Curtius wrote for a corrupt and luxurious age, when the nobles of the latter periods of the Roman empire were excluded from politics and war, and only alive to the stimulants of sense and taste. His invention and eloquence were of a high order, and he wrote for effect—his success was worthy of a better object. His descriptions and pictorial touches,—his dialogues and characteristic sayings and incidents,—and even his description of the private reflections of the persons of the narrative, while they materially diminish his credit as a historian, must still have produced on his ancient readers an effect, not greatly inferior to that produced on the readers of Ivanhoe."—*Dublin University Magazine, May*, 1836.

application of means, he shook off this disease of the spirit. To recover his power of application he had recourse to the study of mathematics, and found in its precise relations and rigid conclusions that interest and necessity of *attention*, which was the remedy his case required."* There is indeed prevalent, in our own times, an error well worthy of the most serious consideration upon the subject of a very large class of works of fiction—we mean that most pernicious of all literary compositions, of which it is the real aim to tamper with passion and sentiment, and the pretence—no doubt sincere—to inculcate some good lesson in morality and prudence. Such lessons are not only useful, but necessary to young and old; but it is known that their operation is slow, and the result of much and repeated trial and experience: it is also known that the truths of experience are long known to the understanding before they have any very practical influence on the heart; while, on the contrary, passion and sentiment, the main impulses of conduct, operate with a spontaneous force in the fullest maturity of that head wisdom which is expected to constrain them. Reason may be called the helm, and experience the chart of prudence and principle; but passion and sentiment have pretty much the same relation to the tempest, the current, and the shoal, and it seems a curious inconsistency of purpose which would make the latter instrumental to the uses of the former. A lesson, for example, of the delicate embarrassments, cross-purposes, and misunderstandings of the tender passions, may be made the vehicle for noble sentiments and virtuous conduct; but the young and tender bosom which has thus been betrayed into those fearful and seductive sympathies, will be infected by their clinging influence, when the noblest maxims of virtue and its loftiest examples are forgotten. In vain the charms are spread which are to sweeten the lesson of virtue, if they have a far nearer connexion with infirmities, follies, and vices. The Minerva, with the naked bosom, may preach in vain on the charms of abstinence and heroic self-denial; human nature will seize the thoughts, and be attracted by the sense for which its affinity is nearest. Heroism, set off by beauty, and softened by the glow of the passions, will, for a moment, appear doubly heroic; but the enthusiasm of taste will subside, and the pupil or spectator will find some more interesting and congenial way of applying the lesson. As we do not here think it necessary to repeat the commonly urged objection to works of fiction—that they offer false views of society—we will say that it is not, certainly, from any want of concurrence in them; and we may observe, by the way, that it is the high praise of the Waverley novels that they avoid all these objections, neither giving false views, nor deriving interest from deleterious materials.

As to the effect of such influences upon the mind of Boyle, it must have been materially diminished by the great counteraction, if not entire preponderance of dispositions of an opposite tendency, which will show themselves plainly enough as we proceed. Without entering into any refinement upon intellectual powers and tendencies, the character of Robert Boyle was eminently practical, and his temper

* Dublin University Magazine, May, 1836.

conscientious in an unusual degree. The general tenor of his early life was in itself adapted to favour, and, in some measure, produce these dispositions: the unsettled character of the times in which he lived; the rude emergencies of even a change of place, attendant on such times; and the universal agitation and tempest of the period in which he came to man's estate, were, in no small degree, calculated to turn the attention of thoughtful spirits on the external scene, and to give development to the turn for observation and practical application. It is perhaps not improbable, that such was the general effect of the civil wars of that period upon the times and the public mind,—the fine-spun cobwebs of philosophy, and the gorgeous cloudwork of poetry, are probably deprived of their influence upon the mass of minds when so kept painfully on the stretch by startling realities. But with such considerations we are evidently unconcerned.

After having continued four years at Eton, Boyle was recalled by his father, who had at this time come to live at Stalbridge, in Dorsetshire. He, nevertheless, sedulously applied himself to the acquisition of classical knowledge, and also of ancient history. His father engaged a Mr Marcombes, a foreigner, to assist his studies. This gentleman had been first employed as travelling tutor to his brothers, the lords Broghill and Kinalmeaky.

In 1638, when he had attained his eleventh year, he was sent on his travels, under the charge of the same gentleman. His destination was Geneva, where he was to continue his studies,—a plan most probably originating with Marcombes, who was a native of the town, and, having a family resident in it, was evidently very much convenienced by the arrangement. They took their route by London. where his brother, who was also to be the companion of his foreign sojourn, was to be married to Mrs Anne Killigrew, a maid of honour to the queen. From London they found their way to Paris, and from thence to Lyons, and on through Savoy to Geneva.

Boyle, in his autobiographical memoir, attributes much of the moral improvement of his mind to the care, and to the influence of some strong points in the character of Mr Marcombes, and we are strongly inclined to join in the opinion. He mentions his tutor as one who was an acute observer of the ways of men, who formed his opinions from life, not from books, and had not merely a contempt, but an aversion for pedantry, which he hated "as much as any of the seven deadly sins." It is also very evident that Mr Marcombes was by no mean an indulgent observer, but nice, critical, choleric; and to the quickness of his temper Mr Boyle ascribes the fortunate subjugation of his own. If, indeed, Mr Boyle's temper was as irritable as he himself represents it to have been, this is a fact not unimportant to the instructors of youth; for he is one of the most perfect models which biography affords, of patience and mildness. In this, however, other and far superior influences must claim a larger share, as Mr Boyle was pre-eminently a christian. To religion, we are inclined to think, there was in his mind a very peculiar tendency. Such tendencies, we are aware, do not, as a matter of course, lead to the actual adoption of any religion, still less of the christian religion. When the great truths of christianity are not instilled into the heart with

the first rudiments of education, they can only be afterwards received on evidence which claims the assent of the understanding, and this must be sought and studied with much careful attention. In Boyle's time, this evidence was easily overlooked for many reasons; and it is always listened to with strong reluctance,—the severe, simple, and practical requisitions of christian teaching being strongly opposed to the whole bent of human nature, and the entire spirit of social life. Butler, and Paley, and other eminent men, afterwards called up to crush the hydra of infidelity, had not yet placed the question within the easy reach of the public mind. Notwithstanding the able writings of Grotius, and those of the more ancient apologists, unhappily, during the middle ages, christianity had been displaced from its basis of evidence, and placed upon a foundation of quicksand, so as to present neither its genuine form nor its real credentials.

From these considerations, we lean to suspect that religious truths had no very strong hold of Mr Boyle's mind, at the period of which we speak. The incidents which had a decided effect to unsettle his belief, are such as to illustrate some of the foregoing remarks very strongly, while, at the same time, they indicate a very singular impressibility.* He himself mentions the solemn impression upon his mind of a tremendous thunderstorm in the dead of the night; it led him to reflect earnestly upon his state of mind, and to recollect his great deficiencies according to the standard by which he professed to walk. Some time after this, however, an impression of a very different nature was made upon him, in one of those excursions which he was accustomed to make from Geneva into the mountains that lay around. Visiting the ancient monastery of Chartreuse, in a wild alpine recess near Grenoble, his feelings were so powerfully wrought upon by the savage and gloomy scenery, the curious pictures, and mysterious traditions of the monastery, that his excited imagination called up and lent a momentary reality to the legendary superstition of the place. The powerful impressions thus made upon a mind, characteristically impressible, were such as to obscure and cast a dimness upon his far less vivid impressions of christianity, of which, it must be observed, he knew not any distinct proofs; and his reason, bewildered between the appeals of a strongly impressed and sensibly imbodied superstition, and of a vague and imperfectly conceived belief, became unsettled upon the momentous truths of religion, which, under the same common name, offered such opposite and irreconcilable demands on faith. The traditions of St Bruno, which were thus brought as a sensible reality to the imagination, stood, as it were, nearer to the eye than the remote and dimly apprehended truths of the gospel; and, while the fancy gave power to the one, reason ceased to discriminate with accuracy, and lost its inadequate hold of the other. The process is by no means one confined to a youthful fancy and a visionary turn, but, with some modification, can be distinctly traced to the pseudo-philosophy of the last century. The shallow but eloquent Vol-

* "Mr Boyle's mind was of that reflective and sensitive cast, on which slight influences had great effects; nor, without the full allowance for this, can the construction of his character be distinctly understood."—*Dublin University Magazine.*

ney has expanded the fallacy into a systematic argument; the imposing sophistry of Gibbon—so far as it can be extracted from the ambiguities of style—indicates a mind labouring under misconceptions of the same order.

With respect to Boyle, his own account of the result substantiates the important fact affirmed in the foregoing remarks. Like Gibbon, Paine, Volney, and other persons, the history of whose scepticism is known, he was ignorant of the actual evidences of the facts and authorities of christianity, and knew it only, as it is most commonly known to the multitude, through its moral and doctrinal rules and principles; and thus, when it became reduced into the mass of clashing creeds and dogmas, its hold upon mere reason was, as a matter of course, obscured. But it is to the praise of Mr Boyle, that with him to doubt was to inquire, and to inquire was to cast away the prepossessions, and resist the prejudices which obscure the shallow depths of human speculation. He was determined to "be seriously inquisitive of the very fundamentals of christianity, and to hear what both Jews and Greeks, and the chief sects of Christians, could allege for their opinions; that so, though he believed more than he could comprehend, he might not believe more than he could prove." The intellectual soundness thus perceptible in a youth of fourteen is very remarkable; and the more so, because it shows a just discernment of the fallacy upon which so many clever, and sometimes profound reasoners, have been wrecked in all times. Some refuse to assent to that which cannot be explained, while others invent systems for the mere explanation of the same difficulties: both confounding explanation with proof, and overlooking the most elementary conditions of reason and the limits of human knowledge. Boyle proceeded with the characteristic sincerity of his temper to fulfil his wise resolution. A mind, so happily constituted for research, could not fail to receive ready satisfaction as to the evidences which offer the clearest and best examples of every proof within the compass of human knowledge. He is known as an eminent christian; and this part of his history may be said to have its illustrious monument in the foundation of a lecture for the defence of the Christian religion, which has been occupied by some of the most eminent names in christian theology.

In September, 1641, he left Geneva, and visited many of the principal towns in Italy. He made a more prolonged stay at Venice, then in its full splendour, a great centre of trade, and a concourse of nations, tongues, and manners. It was the age when the last and consummate finish of a polite education was sought in foreign travel,—foreign travelling, still an important advantage to the scholar, was then an indispensable requisite to the polite or learned. It supplied the deficiency of books by the actual observation of things—it opened the mind by extending the sphere of its intercourse; and, while it enlarged the conversation, it softened prejudices, and gave ease, affability, and freedom to the manners and address.

In Florence he passed the winter of the same year, and, during his stay, acquired the Italian language. Here also he became acquainted with the "new paradoxes" of Galileo, an acquisition, which, to the genius of Boyle, may well be supposed to have been important.

From Florence he went on to Rome, and was enabled to exercise his observing and inquiring spirit without interruption, by taking upon him the character of a Frenchman. He had, while in Geneva, acquired the most perfect ease and correctness in that language, and, in Rome, the acquisition became important. It was his aim to escape the penetrating espionage of the English jesuits, whose duty it would have been to denounce the prohibited presence of an English protestant. Mr Boyle attributed this prohibition to the reluctance which was felt by the Papal court and the ecclesiastical authorities to allow strangers, and particularly protestant strangers, to perceive the very low state of religion then prevalent, and the little reverence paid to the Pope in his own city. There was, indeed, enough to fix his attention upon the darkness and intellectual prostration of the place and time. He never, he declares, saw so small a respect for the Pope as in Rome, or met with infidelity so open and unshrinking as in Italy.

From Rome he returned to Florence, and from thence to Pisa, Leghorn, and by sea to Genoa. He then returned to France. On his journey he was exposed to no small danger in the streets of a frontier town, for refusing to take off his hat to a crucifix. At Marseilles he met with gloomy tidings, accompanied by a severe and unexpected disappointment. Having expected remittances, he only received letters from his father, giving deplorable accounts of the rebellion, and informing him that he had only had it in his power to raise £250, to bear their expenses home. This remittance miscarried, it is believed from the dishonesty of the banker in Paris to whom it was committed. Under these embarrassing circumstances, Mr Marcombes brought them back to Geneva, where they were compelled to remain for two years, in the vain expectation of supplies, and at last found it necessary to have recourse to an expedient, to enable them to find their way home. Mr Marcombes obtained a sufficient amount of jewellery on his own credit, and this enabled them to travel on to England, where they arrived in 1644.

In the mean time the earl of Cork had died. He left, by will, the manor of Stalbridge, and some other property in Ireland, to Robert Boyle. But though thus well provided for in the way of fortune, the unsettled condition of the country rendered it difficult for him to obtain money, so that he found it expedient to reside for several months with his sister, lady Ranelagh. This arrangement was fortunate, as it was the means of diverting him from a purpose which he had recently formed of entering the army.

As his brother, lord Broghill, had considerable interest, he obtained through his means a protection for his estates in England and Ireland, and was also permitted to return to France for the purpose of settling the debts which he had been forced to contract.

He soon returned and retired to his manor of Stalbridge, where he spent four years in the most intense pursuit of knowledge, occasionally, however, relaxing his mind, or diversifying his studies, by excursions to London and Oxford. During this interval he applied himself for a time to ethical investigations, upon which subject he composed a treatise. His favourite pursuit, however, was natural philosophy, in different departments of which he soon obtained as much knowledge

as the state of science at that period afforded. He mentions of himself, that, at this period of his life, his industry was so unremitting, that he continued to mix study with every pursuit, so as not to lose a moment which could be profitably applied. "If they were walking down a hill, or on a rough road, he would still be studying till supper, and frequently proposed such difficulties as he had met with to his governor."

Among the resources of learned men in that period for the attainment and interchange of knowledge, none was more cultivated or more effective for its end than epistolary correspondence; by means of which, the concert and stimulus which soon after began to be propagated by learned societies, was kept up by individual communications. For those, who like Boyle devoted themselves to knowledge, such a resource was then of primary consideration, and, to a great extent, also supplied the place of books: the lights of science were uncertain and rare, and the ardent student of nature was on the watch for every gleam. Boyle was not remiss in seeking the enlightening intercourse of those who were the most eminent for worth and learning.

In 1645, during the civil wars, a small company of persons of talent and learning were in the habit of meeting in London first, and afterwards, when London became too troubled for peaceful studies, in Oxford. The object of their meetings was to hold conversations and make communications in natural philosophy. This was the first beginning of that most illustrious institution the Royal Society, and consisted of many of those who were its most eminent members—Wallis, Wren, Ward, Wilkins, &c.,—men, among whom, at Mr Boyle's time of life, it was, in the highest degree, an honour to be included. They were the followers of Bacon, and the immediate precursors of Newton. The light of human reason had been long struggling, vainly, to break forth from the overpowering control of the spiritual despotism of the middle ages; and in Italy, a succession of minds of the first order, Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, with his contemporaries, had arisen, in vain, above the dim twilight of school and cloister—though not permitted to be the lights of science, yet condemned to leave indelible illustrations of the power of superstition and slavery, and of the importance of freedom of thought to the advancement of mankind. This vital element had found its place in England: the reformation of religion was also the rectification of reason, and the spirit of the venerable fathers of modern science was now to shine out in the daylight of freedom, unfettered by any impositions save those limits assigned by him from whom reason is the gift to man. The eminent men whom we have mentioned had agreed upon weekly meetings at each other's lodgings; they also sometimes met in Gresham College. Their meetings were interrupted after the death of Charles, when London, for a time, became the seat of crime and anarchy, and especially unsafe for those who did not wish to go the fullest lengths of compliance with the spirit of the hour. The principal portion of the members retired to Oxford. The result of the connexions thus formed was a more determinate direction to the philosophical taste, and, perhaps, an increased impulse to the extraordinary assiduity with which Mr Boyle devoted

himself to investigations which have conferred upon his name a distinguished place in the history of natural philosophy.

The close and sedentary habits, consequent on such assiduous study, were not without their debilitating effects upon Boyle's corporeal frame. Before he was yet of age he became subject to repeated attacks of that most afflicting disease, the stone.

In 1652, he came over to settle his affairs in Ireland, and remained for a considerable time, but complained very much of the great obstacles which baffled his efforts to make a progress in his favourite investigations in chemical science. Still his unrelaxing ardour found a congenial pursuit in anatomy, and he entered on a course of dissection, under the guidance of Dr William Petty, physician to the army. Of this, he says, "I satisfied myself of the circulation of the blood, and have seen more of the variety and contrivances of Nature, and the majesty and wisdom of her Author, than all the books I ever read in my life could give me convincing notions of."

In 1654, he executed an intention, which he had long meditated, of retiring to Oxford, where his chief associates in study still met; and where he could with more ease pursue his favourite inquiries in science. It was their custom to meet at each other's apartments or dwellings, in turn, to discuss the questions of principal interest at the time, mutually communicating to each other the result of their several labours. They called themselves the Philosophical College, and perhaps were not without some sense of the important results to which their studies were afterwards to lead. They principally applied themselves to mathematical, and, still more, to experimental inquiries in natural philosophy. Among this distinguished body, the nucleus of modern philosophy, Boyle was not the least active or efficient. Of his labours, we shall presently speak more in detail. He seems to have been early impressed by the discoveries and the opinions declared by the Florentine philosophers, and directed his investigations with a view to confirm and follow out their discoveries: the result was a very considerable improvement upon the air-pump, a machine invented very recently by Otto of Guericke, a burgomaster of Magdeburg. Endowed with faculties, in the very highest degree adapted to the purposes of experimental science, he pursued, confirmed, and extended the science of pneumatics, of which the foundations had been laid by Torricelli, Pascal, and Huygens.

During the same interval, while engaged with ardour essential to genius and natural to youth, in these captivating and absorbing pursuits, Boyle's just, comprehensive, and conscientious spirit was not turned aside from the still higher path which he had chosen for his walk through life. The same inquiring, docile, and cautious habits of mind, improved by the investigations of natural philosophy, were directed to the investigation of the sacred records. He made great progress in the acquisition of the Oriental tongues, and in the critical study of the Scriptures in their original languages. He composed an "Essay on the Scriptures," in which this proficiency is honourably illustrated. The exemplary zeal with which, amidst the multiplicity of his pursuits, and the distraction of severe disease, he gave his mind

to a pursuit, so apt to be overlooked by men intensely engaged in temporal pursuits, is very strongly expressed by himself. "For my part, reflecting often on David's generosity, who would not offer as a sacrifice to the Lord that which cost him nothing, I esteem no labour lavished that illustrates or endears to me that divine book, and think it no treacherous sign that God loves a man, when he inclines his heart to love the scriptures, where the truths are so precious and important that the purchase must at least deserve the price. And I confess myself to be none of those lazy persons who seem to expect to obtain from God a knowledge of the wonders of his book, upon as easy terms as Adam did a wife, by sleeping soundly." Of this spiritual frame of mind we shall find numerous and increasing proofs. During his residence at Oxford he was not less solicitous in his cultivation of, and intercourse with, the best preachers and ablest divines, than with those eminent philosophers who had associated themselves with him, and whose meetings were often held in his apartments. Pococke, Hyde, Clarke, and Barlow, were among his intimates and advisers in those studies, of which they were the lights and ornaments in their day. In common with the ablest and soundest of his literary associates, he warmly opposed the absurd scholastic method of philosophizing, which was the remains of the scholastic period, but was maintained under the abused name and sanction of Aristotle.

The reputation of his learning and sanctity was perhaps extended by his character as a philosopher, as well as by his illustrious birth. The lord chancellor Clarendon was among those who importuned him to enter upon holy orders; but Boyle, with the just and philosophical discernment, as well as the disinterestedness of his character, refused, upon the consideration that his writings in support of divine truth would come with more unmixed authority from one connected by no personal interest with its maintenance. So high at the same time was his reputation as a philosopher, that the grand duke of Tuscany requested of Mr Southwell, the English resident at his court, to convey to Mr Boyle his desire to be numbered among his correspondents.

In 1662, a grant of the forfeited impropriations in Ireland was obtained in his name, but without any previous communication with him. This he applied to the purposes of maintaining and extending the benefits of Christianity, by supporting active and efficient clergymen. In the same year he was appointed president of the Society for the propagation of the gospel in New England: a society which was, we believe, the origin of those societies for the same end, of which the results have been so diffusively connected with the more permanent and higher interests of the human race.

The philosophical works and investigations of Boyle, in the meanwhile, followed thick upon each other. The splendid progress of the physical sciences since his time have been, in every branch, such as to cast an undeserved oblivion over the able and intelligent inquirers who began the march of science in England. Though they were far in advance of their day, yet after all, their happiest advances were but ignorant conjectures, compared with the discoveries which may be said to have followed in their track. The fame of Hooke is lost in

the discoveries of Newton.* Boyle is said to have suggested to this great man the first ideas of his theory of light, in an Essay containing "Considerations and Experiments concerning Colours." This was published in 1663, when Newton was in his twentieth year, and three years before he commenced those experiments to which the theory of colours is due. But Boyle's researches, directed by a true theory of the principles of inquiry, were full of true and just suggestions, of which, nevertheless, it is not a fair way of thinking, to attribute to them the discoveries of any subsequent inquirer. The same suggestions are, to a marvellous extent, presented to various minds with a coincidence which may be called simultaneous: they are, in truth, the product of the age, and of the reality of things. One true notion received will be similarly applied by nearly all minds of a certain order; and as principles of investigation and facts become matured and accumulated, it is rather the wonder how so many can differ than that so many should agree.

Mr Boyle was, at this period of life, exposed to the ridicule of persons of profligate or worldly temper, by the publication of some moral essay, under the title of "Occasional Reflections on different Subjects," which had been written in his younger days, and which, as might be expected from one of Mr Boyle's simplicity of mind, went to the fullest lengths† in the truths of moral and spiritual reflection. That the soundest reason should on these, as on all other subjects of thought, keep nearest to truth, would seem to be a natural consequence. But the mind of society is, to a large extent, enlisted in behalf of the follies and corrupt conventions by which the spirit of the world is kept in conceit with itself; and one of the consequences is the tacit proscription of numerous plain truths, which no one denies, and few like to have forced upon their attention. The formal admission and practical contempt of many truths have thus converted them into solemn trifles, destitute of their proper meaning and afforded to satire the keenest of its shafts, which is directed against everything at which the world desires to laugh, and would gladly look upon as folly. It has, in effect, no very profound air to say gravely what every one knows and no one heeds, and it will become nearly burlesque, if such things are solemnly put forth in the tone and manner of deep reflection—the more so, too, as it is always very common to meet amiable shallow triflers, who deal in commonplaces, because, in fact, they can talk on no other conditions. But it is easy to see how, to a deep

* Newton probably took the thought of gravitation from Hooke. It is an interesting fact that Milton seems to have described the idea of solar attraction in the following lines :—

"What if the sun
Be centre to the world, and other stars
By his attractive virtue and their own
Incited, dance about him various rounds?"

† Intense and serious minds seldom understand ridicule, and are, therefore, not unapt to walk unconsciously within its precincts. Ridicule is the great weapon of ignorance, shallowness, and vice; but it is wielded in the hands of wit and malice, and is, therefore, formidable.

thinker, whose mind is uncorrupted by the world, many great first truths, which are lost in the vague forms of proverbial commonplace, should start into an intense reality; and thus language, which has lost its sense to worldly wisdom, acquire a power beyond the conception of keen and shrewd deriders. Of this single-minded, earnest, and conscientious character was Mr Boyle, to whom the very title of the Supreme Being brought a sense of veneration, and a host of solemn and affecting truths, such as seldom in any way, and never very intensely, crossed the minds of those who exercised their wit upon his reflections. The author of Hudibras was one of these; he imitated Mr Boyle in "An occasional Reflection on Dr Charlton's feeling a Dog's Pulse, at Gresham College." Swift also wrote his "Pious Meditations on a Broomstick," in imitation of the same compositions.

The high reputation, both as a philosopher and a Christian, acquired by Mr Boyle, recommended him to the respect and favour of all that was high and honourable in the land. The provostship of Eton having become vacant, he was nominated by the king to that important station. This he declined, because he wanted no addition either to his rank or fortune. He had decided against taking holy orders, for a reason which we have always considered as having much weight: that the world, and still more the infidel portion of it, is more likely to be influenced by the more apparently disinterested Christianity of a layman, than by the professional zeal and testimony of a churchman. Mr Boyle had also a sense that his devotion to chemistry might be found inconsistent with the active duties of the college, as he would find it his duty to fulfil them.

He was, at the same period of his life, appealed to upon a controversy which then, and often since, has excited the attention of society. This was the question as to the supposed supernatural virtue of healing, which was supposed to reside in the person of a Mr Valentine Greatrakes. Both parties addressed their appeal to Mr Boyle, as the person of the age most fitted to give an authoritative opinion. We should enter here very fully into that curious subject, had we not to give a separate notice on it in the memoir of Mr Greatrakes, where we shall give it exclusive consideration. Suffice it here to say, that a letter was addressed to Mr Boyle, by a Mr Stubbe, in behalf of Greatrakes, and that he replied in another, which, deservedly, obtained great praise.

In 1667, when a severe attack was made upon the Royal Society, Mr Boyle took a prominent part in the defence. It was, in reality, the era of a great revolution in the intellectual world—when the contest between the darkness of the scholastic age and the light of the Newtonian day was at its maximum point of violence. The advocates of a master, who would have scornfully disclaimed them, supplied the want of reason in favour of the Aristotelian philosophy, by charging the new philosophy and its supporters with impiety. The charge was, indeed, unlucky; it appealed to prejudices, and placed truth itself in a false position. The sacred history, written in an early age of the world, and not designed for the chimerical and inconsistent purpose of teaching natural philosophy, used the language of mankind in its allusions to nature—the only medium by which it could continue in-

telligible through so many states of civilization. But as men theorized on nature, and came to various notions on the structure of the mundane system, it is evident that they would compare the language of holy writ with the conclusions of science. Hence difficulties would arise. To deal with these, or to prevent them, the jargon of the schools was a convenient, but most mischievous resource. It was virtually the means of arriving at any desired inference by verbal dexterity. Thus adopting as sacred revelations, the indispensable language of the Bible, it preserved an erroneous system of physics, by excluding the consideration of phenomena. The mistake of the ancient writers on this head was two-fold; for, the scripture was not only understood to declare an accurate system of the world, but its language was so interpreted as to convert the prevalent philosophy of the age into the intent and meaning of the sacred text. Thus, unhappily, arose the self-perpetuation of error: it perverted scripture; and erected the perversion into sacred authority. When the reason of mankind became more free, another evil result arose: the fallacies which were thus wedded to the Bible, by old and venerated error, could not be easily divorced, and became a fertile ground for the sophistry of the deist. And yet, in a philosophic age, it seems strange that sophisms so obvious should have been ventured. It ought, indeed, to be observed that even the latest works on astronomy are liable to the very same misinterpretations; for, from the difficulty and complication of the subject, it is found necessary to adopt a fictitious convention, founded on appearances, as an indispensable necessity of language. And that fiction is *the very same* which the philosophers and divines of ages imagined to be a system maintained on the authority of scripture—which contained no system, and disclosed not one single fact in nature. For the purpose, it should, indeed, have contained some other books, bigger than itself, of pure and unmixed mathematics. Nor would it be very possible to fix a limit where God should cease to reveal, and reason begin its queries, cavils, and senseless mistakes and superstitions. The language of Laplace, of the vulgar of all ages, founded on the common principles of human language, is precisely that which the sacred penmen have used; because there never was, or will be, any other. The secret that the truth of God needs no veil of consecrated error—and that his word stands aloof and undefiled by the rashness of theories, or the fanaticism of schools—was as far from being understood as the Baconian philosophy. As a theory of metaphysics, the inductive method might be suffered to pass among other subtle speculations: speculation had, indeed, so little connexion with practice, that there was nothing very formidable in any effort of this nature—it was simply a great book to swell the mass of academic lucubration. But it was a different thing when a new race of inquirers arose, and, throwing aside the endless and inconclusive resources of division, distinction, syllogism, and definition, stretched beyond, and mistaken in their use, and began to weigh and measure, compare, compound, and analyze, and seek for the constitution of nature by a diligent and searching examination of nature itself. Such a new and daring course would not only assail the learned repose of universities, and deprive grave

doctors of much cheap-won wisdom, but it also gave a violent shock to that factious zeal with which systems are so much upheld. Hence it was that where reason failed, it was an easy, though most unfortunate, resource of controversy, to call in the aid of an appeal such as that we have described, and bring holy writ to the aid of the Aristotelians. The error has been propagated down to our times, checking science, and abusing scripture. The Royal Society was its first object. Mr Boyle was personally treated with the respect of his antagonists—a remarkable testimony to his reputation for piety and worth. A friend of his, who was a leading writer in the controversy, notices him in this honourable manner: that he "alone had done enough to oblige all mankind, and to erect an eternal monument to his memory; so that had he lived in the days when men godded their benefactors, he could not have missed one of the first places among their deified mortals; and that in his writings are to be found the greatest strength and the sweetest modesty, the noblest discoveries and the most generous self-denial, the profoundest insight into philosophy and nature, and the most devout and affectionate sense of God and religion."

In the following year he changed his residence from Oxford to London, where he took up his quarters with the lady Ranelagh his sister. The change facilitated his communication with the Royal Society, and with learned men. As was usual, he continued to produce and send forth essays on various branches of natural philosophy; chiefly, however, upon subjects connected with the properties of air and water. In 1670, he published a work containing a more detailed account of his philosophical speculations and discoveries. This work obtained very general notice, and we can have no hesitation in saying, that it gave a vast impulse to chemical inquiry.

In 1671, his health, ever very delicate, received a severe shock from a paralytic disease. He, nevertheless, recovered, it is said by the adoption of a strict regimen, with the help of medical treatment.

Among the very numerous tracts which he every year published, there was, in 1674, a paper read in the Royal Society on "quicksilver growing hot with gold," which drew a letter from Newton to caution him against any premature disclosure on a fact apparently so favourable to Alchymy. Mr Boyle seems not altogether to have abandoned some of these notions more properly appertaining to that visionary science: this was, however, both natural, and even philosophically just, in the commencement of a science of which it was the origin. Alchymy had already produced a rich accumulation of facts, and it was impossible to decide where the true line was to be found between reality and conjecture. Though it is the spirit of inductive science to question nature, by means of experiment and observation, it is plain that there must be some previous process of conjecture to give the direction to inquiry. The true principle of conjecture is, that it should be directed by knowledge; as, out of ascertained facts, various probabilities arise to exercise the invention and sagacity of the inquirer. Laws of nature rise slowly to observation, and with them the law of observation and inference grows both stricter and surer. To venture to assume these limiting rules prematurely, would have been a fatal error; and even still it would be hard to fix the bounds of the unknown, and

therefore mysterious processes of nature. We cannot affirm that mankind may not, in the course of half a century, have ascertained not only numerous new and unknown properties, such as to give an entirely new aspect to the laws supposed to be those of nature, but have discovered results which must be concluded to indicate further elementary laws as yet unknown. But there is a sound rule, of which we shall have much occasion to speak further—it is this; that there is a certain perceptible analogy in the operations of nature, which it is chimerical and visionary to depart from, but within which the utmost latitude of conjecture may and even must be allowed, even to the apparent verge of extravagance. A known operation, working according to an ascertained law, may, according to this principle, be carried in experiment to any extreme length against which human ignorance has set up its canon of prejudice; because, in fact, there is nothing can be pronounced impossible, unless for some specific reason on the most rigidly ascertained grounds. On the other hand, to violate this analogy would be to take improbability for the guide of science; to neglect it would be to take chance, and drift upon the ocean of non-existence. The reader of these remarks cannot fail to keep in view, that their application is not to the grounds of strict inference, which, to have any value, must be derived by the strictest reasoning from the most rigid facts; but to the grounds of probable conjecture which is the guide of trial. In Mr Boyle's day, the founders of modern science might justly entertain a salutary terror against the visions of the empirical philosophy, founded as they were upon a mixture of superstition, lawless fancies, traditionary dogmas, crude hypotheses, and premature generalizations. And as human reason is ever oscillating to extremes, the new impulse would naturally lead the followers of Galileo and Bacon to take a narrow basis for their views in science; and in departing from the visionary fields of the old hermetic science, leave behind some solid and valuable truths. Looking on the subject with these reflections, we are rather led to admire the tempered and considerate spirit of Mr Boyle, than to qualify his character by the admission of an enthusiasm for the occult and mystical, which seems to have tinged his zeal and led him further into speculative inquiry than he would have gone in the next generation. With or without such a qualification—the extent, variety, and soundness, of his investigation, placed natural philosophy on a firm and broad foundation, and gave the great impulse, from which numerous inquiries of far less genius have since obtained higher celebrity.

The very titles of some of his works convey the sound election with which he observed the errors and obstructions of human inquiry, which impeded, and even still, in some measure, continue to impede natural science. Of this nature may be specified his "Free Inquiry into the vulgar notion of Nature;" and his "Disquisition into the final causes of natural things, and with what caution a naturalist should admit them."

It appears that several of his writings were lost by various causes, among which there occurs one not now very easy to apprehend. It is stated by himself, that he had lost numerous manuscripts by the surreptitious depredation of visitors. In 1686, he published some state-

ments of the various obstacles he had met with, and the difficulties which he had encountered in the publication of his writings. This is now chiefly important as one of the numerous indications of a state of literature altogether different from that of more recent times. It is now not very far from the truth to say, that the universal sense of literary men is one which would suggest an apology of an opposite purport from that of Mr Boyle's; and indeed, there are few prefaces which do not contain some implication of the kind. A modern writer may perhaps feel, with some reason, that he has to account for the public appearance, in which the public is but little or not at all interested: but Mr Boyle felt the solemn duty of one to whom it was committed to enlighten and instruct an age of great comparative ignorance. His apology indicates the entire absence of those sentiments of egotism and arrogance, of which such an apology might now be regarded as the language. But it is to be admitted that, in this respect, the claim of the scientific inquirer yet stands upon a peculiar ground; the successful prosecutor of discoveries must always possess a claim upon the mind of his age: he owes something to the world, and the world something to him—he stands apart, because he is in advance of his age—his appeal is the assertion of a duty, not the boast of a merit, or a demand for the admiration of the world. Such claims as Mr Boyle had to the respect and gratitude of his age, were then accompanied by much anxiety, and the sense of a jealous and earnest competition. The whole structure of science was to be built—and as the ignorance of nature had, till then, been occasioned by an entire perversion in the method and direction of the human mind—there was a wide waste of obvious phenomena which lay upon the surface, ready to offer themselves to the first glances of rightly directed inquiry. It was a consequence that, among the philosophers of the age, there was a jealous competition. In this was, then, first displayed that unscrupulous disregard to truth and justice, which has in so many instances disgraced foreign philosophers, who have shown an unpardonable readiness to appropriate the inventions and discoveries of English science. The reader will recollect the great controversy concerning the fluxionary or differential calculus, of which this was the period. Similarly, Mr Boyle had to complain of numerous instances in which he was the object of similar frauds. Many copied his writings without any citation of authority, or stated his experiments in their books as if they had made them themselves.

A life of indefatigable research and study could not fail to affect the extremely delicate constitution of Mr Boyle. Great temperance, and continual caution which is mostly enforced by so tender a frame, had perhaps made the most of his strength. But he at last felt it due to science, and essential to his ease and health, to restrict his labours, and to avoid all superfluous engagements. He seems to have been deeply impressed with that sense of the value of time which belongs to those who have great and permanent objects of pursuit, and an earnest desire to accomplish the truer and worthier ends of existence. The broad ocean of discovery, too vast for even the contemplation of the highest human reason, or for the mind of ages, lay yet untried in all its magnificent expanse before his mind's eye: he could anticipate

numerous tracts of research, and doubtless conceive numerous splendid results, which human life would be short to follow or attain. Such a sense is more penurious of its hours than the miser of his gold: the gold may be accumulated, but the measured moments can neither be increased nor recalled. As most men live, it is true that an hour gained or lost would be but a little more or less of a useless commodity; while to one like Boyle it was truly more than wealth could compensate: some such sentiment suggested the aphorism of Bacon, *ars longa, vita brevis*. Mr Boyle, whose labours were the practical illustration of Bacon's philosophy, left also an illustrious example of the strictest economy of time. Zealous in the pursuit of important truths, he saw that, with his diminished energies, and diminishing days, it was necessary to cut off all superfluities, and avoid all uncalled-for waste of time and labour. With this view he ceased drawing up those formal communications to the Royal Society, which but interrupted the business of investigation, led to premature discussion, and broke in upon the settled frame of his thoughts. With much regret he resigned his office of governor to the corporation for propagating the gospel in New England. He published an advertisement declining the numerous visits to which his great celebrity exposed him; and put up a board to indicate the hours when he could receive those whom he could not, or would not, refuse to see. For these he set apart two mornings and two evenings in each week.

He availed himself of the leisure thus obtained, not only to prosecute his important investigations, but to repair the loss of many valuable papers, and to put the whole in a more convenient and systematic order.

In 1691, Mr Boyle's health, which had never been strong, began to give way to such an extent, that he concluded it full time to prepare for his end, and executed his last will. The rapid indications of a failure of the powers of life increased through the summer, and in October were so far advanced that no hope remained of any very decided restoration. His decline was considered to have been accelerated by his extreme concern about the illness of his dear sister, the lady Ranelagh, with whom he had ever lived on terms of the tenderest attachment. And as they had been united through life, they were not to be painfully disunited by the grave. Lady Ranelagh died on the 23d of December, 1691; and on the 30th of the same month, she was followed by her brother: a man who, if regard be had to the combination of high philosophic genius, moral worth, and genuine Christian goodness, has not been equalled, in any known instance, in succeeding generations. Holding a foremost place among the philosophers of that age, he was equally prominent, and still more deserving of veneration and honour as a Christian. With a spirit too wise to desire the adventitious honours which had been showered, with a liberal hand, on all the members of his family, and were pressed by royal favour on his acceptance—he refused to obscure with a title that name which continues to be the grace and ornament of the records of a family which has produced many persons of worth and public distinction.

He was, in a high degree, instrumental in the propagation of the

gospel: for this purpose his influence and fortune were used with energy and perseverance. He spent £700 upon the Irish translation of the Bible—of which he sent 500 copies into Ireland, and 200 into the highlands of Scotland. He also had printed, at his own expense, 3000 catechisms and prayer-books, for the highlands—of which the spiritual welfare had been deplorably neglected. He gave £300 for spreading the gospel in America.

We have already mentioned his foundation of a lecture for the defence of revealed religion, of which the object was thus expressed: "To be ready to satisfy real scruples, and to answer such new objections and difficulties as might be stated, to which good answers had not been made," &c. The fruits of this noble institution have been rich: such men as Bentley, Harris, Clarke, Whiston, and Butler, form a constellation of bright lights in the train of the noble founder; and, doubtless, far more illustrious has been the result which lies beyond the estimate of human praise—"the turning of many to righteousness;" for, considering that such minds are endowed by heaven, and such efforts commanded to man, we cannot suppose them to be ineffectually employed. But we may here pause to dwell on the characteristic sagacity which planned such a lecture. In any other department of knowledge it might be presumed that one full statement of an argument, of which all the facts are so long and so fully known as those of Christianity, might be enough to put an end to all doubts and further arguments in one way or another. But the natural aversion of irreligious minds to the gospel has the very peculiar, though obviously natural effect, of leading men to find arguments to satisfy themselves with a perfect ignorance of its nature, facts, and evidences. There is a dislike to be convinced, peculiar to this one great argument: and hence the fertility of human invention in devising such arguments as may shut out all chance of disturbing the illusions of scepticism; that is, all such arguments as are independent of the question itself, and are, therefore, without limit. A curious consequence of this is, that every generation has brought forth its own peculiar form of infidelity; some argument of which the absurdity has become too manifest to be relied upon, even by the sceptics of the next. This curious illustration of the real elementary principle of scepticism, seems to have been contemplated in Mr Boyle's foundation.

As a philosopher, there is now some difficulty in doing strict justice to Boyle. His writings have been superseded by the completion, or the far advance which has been made in those branches of natural philosophy to which he mainly applied his attention. But it will be enough to say, that all the most eminent inquirers in the same track—such as, for instance, Priestley—have spoken of him as the founder of the important science of pneumatics. The testimonies of foreign philosophers are also numerous and important. He was, in England, the first follower of Bacon; and, though the branches of science which he cultivated by no means claim so high a rank, yet he may be called the predecessor of Newton, and that illustrious host of mathematicians who commenced and brought to perfection the noblest structure of knowledge that has been, or can be attained, by human powers. He must be viewed as the most eminent man in England, among those

who effected a great revolution in human knowledge; which was no less than a transition from the scholastic to the experimental schools—from mere words to facts. Of this great change the beginnings are, doubtless, to be traced to previous generations and other countries; but it would lead to wide digression to say more here upon a topic which we shall have frequent occasions to notice more at large.

We shall, therefore, conclude this sketch of Boyle, by a mere enumeration of his scientific writings. They are as follow:—

1. "New Experiments, Physico-Mechanical, touching the Spring of the Air, and its Effects, 1660." 2. "Sceptical Chemist, 1662;" reprinted in 1679; with the addition of Divers Experiments. 3. "Certain Physiological Essays and other Tracts, 1661." 4. "Considerations touching the Usefulness of Experimental Philosophy, 1663." 5. "Experiments and Considerations upon Colours, 1663." 6. "New Experiments upon Cold, 1665." 7. "Hydrostatical Paradoxes, 1666." 8. "Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to Corpuscular Philosophy, 1666." 9. "The Admirable Refractions of the Air, 1670." 10. "The Origin and Virtue of Gems, 1672." 11. "The Relation between Flame and Air, 1672." 12. "On the Strange Subtilty, Great Efficacy, &c., of Effluvia, 1673." 13. "The Saltness of the Sea, Moisture of the Air, &c., 1664." 14. "On the Hidden Qualities of the Air, 1674." 15. "The Excellence, &c., of the Mechanical Hypothesis, 1674." 16. "Porosity of Bodies, 1684." 17. "Natural History of Mineral Waters, 1684." 18. "Experimenta et Observationes Physicæ, 1691," which was the last work published during his life. But two posthumous works afterwards were published, viz., "Natural History of Air, 1692;" and "Medicinal Experiments, 1718."

Valentine Greatrakes.

BORN A.D. 1628.—DIED CIRC. A.D. 1690.

THE claim of Mr Greatrakes to our notice is very peculiar, and such as, considering the very justifiable prepossessions of the reasonable class of men against all pretensions to which the term of quackery has been, or can be applied—it will, perhaps, be in some degree hazardous to notice with the equitable spirit of philosophic indifference. The great celebrity which he obtained in his day is, perhaps, characteristic of that day. It extended from the hut of the Irish peasant to the court of England, and furnished matter for wonder and discussion to philosophers and universities. But we are happy to seize the occasion which is thus offered of discussing an important topic which stands in some need of sober and impartial comment.

On the incidents of the life of Greatrakes we shall consult the utmost brevity. He is himself the authority for his early history. He was born in 1628, and was the son of William Greatrakes, of Affanche, in the county of Waterford. His mother was a daughter of Sir E. Harris, knight, and a judge in the king's bench. He was educated at the free school of Lismore, and designed for the university; but this destination was frustrated by the great rebellion which broke out

in his fourteenth year. He took refuge with his uncle, Mr E. Harris, who attended to the completion of his education with laudable diligence, and, as he says, "perfected him in humanity and divinity."

At the restoration, Mr Greatrakes was made clerk of the peace for the county of Cork, and a magistrate, and discharged the duties of these offices so as to obtain the respect of the district.

In the midst of such avocations, he became suddenly seized with an impression that he was personally endowed with some healing virtue: this incident must be related in his own words:—"About four years since I had an impulse which frequently suggested to me that there was bestowed on me the gift of curing the king's evil, which for the extraordinariness thereof, I thought fit to conceal for some time; but, at length, I told my wife; for whether sleeping or waking, I had this impulse; but her reply was, 'that it was an idle imagination.' But, to prove the contrary, one William Maher, of the parish of Lismore, brought his son to my wife—who used to distribute medicines in charity to the neighbours—and my wife came and told me that I had *now* an opportunity of trying my impulse, for there was one at hand that had the evil grievously in the eyes, throat, and cheeks; whereupon I laid my hands on the places affected, and prayed to God, for Jesus' sake, to heal him. In a few days afterwards the father brought his son so changed that the eye was almost quite whole; and to be brief (to God's glory I speak it), within a month he was perfectly healed—and so continues."

It is then stated that he proceeded to discover, and to display to the wonder of the whole surrounding country, a power of healing which was so great and so evident in its effects as to silence even the scepticism of physicians. And so great became his fame that crowds flocked around his dwelling, from all parts of the country, and filled his barns and out-houses with diseases of every kind. His fame soon spread to England, and he was invited over to cure lady Conway of an obstinate headache. In England, he was followed by multitudes: he failed to afford the desired relief to the lady Conway, but was successful in curing numbers of the poor people.

The practice of Mr Greatrakes was wholly gratuitous, and the power by which he effected his cures he attributed to a supernatural gift. In England, such pretensions soon led to public discussion—in which two parties took opposite views, both in a very high degree worthy of being noticed, as examples of two unphilosophical modes of solution which derive considerable importance from the frequency with which they may be observed to recur in the history of human opinion—one party at once attributing the cures to some supernatural gift, the other resolving the difficulty by some conjectural cause. Of these, the first assumes that all the operations and powers which are termed natural, are so thoroughly known that anything which cannot be accounted for, or resolved into an effect of some known cause, must be called supernatural. The other, still more absurd, escapes the difficulty by assigning some known but inadequate cause, which amounts to no more than giving a name to a thing, and then explaining it by that name. Thus, while Mr Stubbe wrote a pamphlet, in which he described the healing power of Greatrakes as a gift bestowed by God,

and with curious inconsistency described the elementary operation of the supposed gift—his adversaries attributed it to the power of friction, neglecting to observe, that if friction had anything to do with the cures supposed, it must be as the means of setting in motion some other cause, without a knowledge of which nothing was explained.

Mr Boyle was appealed to, and he appears to have viewed the question with the temperate and impartial mind of a philosopher—which is to be neither hasty to affirm nor deny. He admitted the possibility of miraculous gifts, because he found no absolute reason to deny it: but, considering the description of the actual facts, he saw no reason to class them as miracles: he justly observed, and the observation is very important, that they were wholly dissimilar from the miracles related in Scripture. He did not deny that there might be some mechanical cause, or some healing virtue applicable by the touch of the hand, especially considering the known powers of the imagination. And he illustrated his reasoning by examples of cures performed by the immediate and direct effect of this influence.

As subsequent controversies have given very considerable importance to the principles involved in this question, we shall not leave it without making some general remarks; and in doing this we shall, to the utmost extent, avoid the slightest leaning to the controverted opinions of any class of persons. It may be unnecessary to mention, that the main form in which these considerations have been latterly involved, has been the great controversy concerning mesmerism; or as it has been recently termed, animal magnetism.

On the facts, concerning which these questions have arisen, we are no further acquainted than by hearsay. But as they are not authoritatively contradicted, their reality may for the present purpose be *assumed*. Both parties have, so far as we have had cognizance, joined issue on the facts, and are at variance upon the law. We only design to notice here, the errors in reason which they have committed—what may become of the question concerning mesmerism, is a matter of great comparative unimportance: it is our object to guard the integrity of reason which is so apt to suffer grievously in the heat of such disputes.

Against those who have been the assertors or practitioners of mesmerism, two objections are to be made, neither of which demand much comment,—that of imposture, and that of premature theorizing. On the first, we must be very brief: we have not personally had any experience of the facts commonly alleged; they have been affirmed on very strong authority, and submitted to every test of which they seem capable. Some of them appear to admit of no deception. And it ought to be observed that, among the most intelligent of their opponents admissions have been directly or indirectly made, which amount to the concession of all that can be contended for short of idle speculation. The other charge is, indeed, but too well warranted against both sides; it rests on that common infirmity of human reason, which has from the beginning of time loaded human knowledge with the encumbrance of idle speculations. The almost universal fallacy of assuming that every thing known is to be explained by the best conjecture that occurs. Accordingly, the magnetists have in their tracts upon the subject, so amply involved their very debatable facts in such idle reasonings as

very much to multiply their vulnerable points, and to raise questions on which they can be assailed beyond the power of effective defence. When the ridiculous reason, or the absurd pretence, is exposed, the multitude, equally shallow in its scepticism as in its credulity, will easily be induced to overlook the facts. The charge of *sleight*, or imposture, is as effective as any other explanation—it is at least as cheap as a miracle.

Against the adversaries of the magnetists, the charges to be made are the hasty denial of facts; and the opposition of these facts, so far as admitted, by fallacies and evasions.

Of those who deny facts, simply on the ground that they are impossible, or that they have not witnessed them, there is nothing to be said—they are unreasonable, and not to be met by reason. The most respectable opponents of mesmerism are those who, admitting the facts so far as they have been actually ascertained by competent trial and observation, have considered it as a sufficient argument to silence all further consideration of the subject, to find a name for them, or to refer them to some known natural cause; and then take it for granted that there is nothing further, and assert that the whole matter is undeserving of further notice.

In the reign of Louis XVI. of France, the question was referred to a committee of professional men, who completely put an end to the question for the time, by referring the phenomena to *imitation*. This was explained by the fact of that species of sympathy which is known in numerous cases to take place in the human mind and body. The argument has been since taken up, and received various improvements of the same character—nervous influence has been of some use, and the mere agency of the imagination has been of still more. And, finally, in our own times, it has been thought full sufficient reason against the magnetists to say that the phenomena are no more than disease.

Now, what renders all this deplorably fallacious is, that every one of these objections may be fully admitted, and still leave every question worthy of consideration untouched. Imitation, as an act of the will, to which it may be referred as a cause, is not the kind of imitation intended: involuntary imitation is but an effect to be accounted for, and which can explain nothing. If the phenomena are such as to be properly called imitative, it neither tells nor explains to say that they are the effects of imitation; this is still but the very fact to be explained. If, however, a further step is taken towards the discovery of an efficient cause, and that nervous sympathy, or the influence of imagination be considered as such; the first point would be to trace the indications of these several causes in the actual phenomena; when this is done, it will remain to be proved that anything is gained in the controversy. The same may be said with greater force of the objection, that the phenomena in question are nothing but disease. The answer to all these is, that the phenomena of mesmerism or magnetism, are altogether independent of any theory by which their explanation may be attempted: they may be nervous, or some form of disease; but, if it can be proved that such facts have real existence, there is nothing to justify the charge of imposture maintained by

an explanation, which, if it has any force, proves something different. Our objection to such a course is this, that a presumed imposture is resisted by a gross fallacy. Before we leave this part of the subject we must observe of the methods of solution to which we have here adverted, that many of the alleged facts are such as to exclude altogether both imitation and imagination, and every other known agency. That the same facts are justly referred to certain diseased states of the mind or body, of which they are the known symptoms, presents a different question on which we have some remarks to offer.

Now, supposing the charge of mere imposture abandoned (as we believe it to be), by the most reasonable opponents; and the far more just objection made, that the effects in question are disease—that the practice is dangerous—and, though not imposture in one sense, yet is a most pernicious resource in the hands of quacks and other impostors. This may be very true, and if so cannot be answered. But, in the meantime, it does not justify the course which has been followed with regard to magnetism. It was not, perhaps, so much amiss in the time of Louis XVI., when investigation was limited, and authority despotic, to put down a pernicious practice by any means. But neither conclave, college, nor court, can now exercise the smallest influence to arrest the expansive curiosity and intelligence of the human mind—the tricks of night are too visible in the full daylight of reason. Such ineffectual opposition can only awaken resistance from the multitudes who wonder at magnetism, and the few who respect reason. Let the really rational opponents of magnetic experiments take a more open and philosophic course.

If the practice of magnetism is really pernicious, this is surely the *practical* ground to take against it; but this cannot effectually be taken by those who treat it as a fiction. Surely they who should have the leading voice in such a question, have put themselves inadvertently in a position from which the sooner they extricate themselves the better.

But if the allegations of so many of the most authoritative witnesses are—as we are here taking for granted—really true, there is a wider view of the subject.

If in any one single case out of a thousand trials—for the number of failures is of no real importance—any one of the most remarkable phenomena of mesmerism is actually produced, as a natural phenomenon, it is not less worthy of notice and investigation, than if the trial should succeed in every instance. The small class of facts, thus observed—supposing no defect in the observation—would be the certain indications of some principle, or of some process in human nature, beyond the limit of that circle of cause and effect hitherto ascertained. Such an extension of our knowledge would be rejected by no true philosophy. In such a supposition it is vain and absurd to pretend that all further questions, concerning such facts, must end by referring them to disease, or imagination, or nerves. None of which causes even make a seeming approach towards the explanation of the facts. If, for instance, there is a state of disease in which the patient becomes cognizant of things existing and passing elsewhere, and not otherwise known, it may be catalepsy; but it is evident that the symptom indicates some process beyond the ordinary range of human faculties, as

yet otherwise known. It is at once evident that no mental or physical cause yet distinctly known, named, or classed, in any department of natural phenomena, can account for it. It cannot be sympathy or imagination, or nervous affection, in any sense yet intelligibly contained in these words.

But it may, perhaps, be inexplicable—so is every fact in nature beyond some point—but, it is enough that it is, if truly stated, a fact which extends our knowledge of our intellectual constitution, by proving that it contains capabilities and provisions which are developed in certain states of disorder, more powerful in action and range than any known in health, and wholly *different in kind.* It surely manifests the *existence* of a function, and a capability which extends our knowledge of the human mind. If disease can develop some new sense, the provision is probably designed for some use beyond disease by the great Creator, who can scarcely be presumed to have made so elaborate a provision for the information of a cataleptic patient.

There is an objection which we have heard with concern and surprise. Some good men have expressed their fear, that the miracles of the Scripture history might be attributed to animal magnetism. When we recall the reasonings of the deist, we cannot but admit that such a fallacy would not be too absurd. The first principle of scepticism is the confusion of distinctions; and this, though it would be a most egregious instance, would not be one of the worst. But such an oversight can only, for a moment, be indulged in by those who are in the habit of arguing on the sacred narrative without having taking the trouble to look into it; as the miracles of either the Old or New Testament are not such as to admit of explanation either by magnetism or any other natural means—and must be wholly fable, or wholly supernatural.

As for the cures practised, or supposed to be practised, by Greatrakes, and others since his time—we believe that, in part, they may be safely attributed to the influence of the imagination. That they may also, to some extent, be attributable to the same influence as animal magnetism operating in some peculiar way, is not unreasonable to suspect. But, admitting the utmost as to the facts, we see no ground for the inference of any supernatural influence. It is easy to see why such a power, in the possession of an individual, should in certain circumstances be made available for imposture; but we cannot admit that imposture is to be best resisted by the weapons of fraud, or by that more comprehensive class of fallacies which from the beginning of time have retarded all knowledge. Any delusion which extensively affects the public mind must, in these days of opinion, be fairly examined; and when it becomes for any reason worth while to investigate, it ought to be such a fair investigation as alone can bear any decided conclusion. It should never be forgotten, on such occasions, that nothing can be called impossible but that which directly contradicts itself or some known truth.

We have been led into this discussion by a remark, in which we agree, made by one of the writers of Mr Boyle's life, in commenting on the same facts. "It may in the present age, perhaps, be thought that Mr Boyle ought to have laid more emphasis on the power of

imagination over organized matter, and the effects of animal magnetism or enthusiasm, and rejected altogether the notion of supernatural influences."

Greatrakes was himself under the firm, and we believe sincere, persuasion, that his power of healing was a supernatural gift. Some attacked him as an impostor, while others endeavoured to account for his cures, by the theory of a "sanative contagion in the body, which has an antipathy to some particular diseases and not to others." Among other opponents, St Evremond assailed him in a satirical novel. In the main, however, the most respectable physicians and philosophers of the time supported him with testimonies, which we should now find it hard to reject. Among these were Mr Boyle, Bishop Rust, the celebrated Cudworth, Dr Wilkins, Dr Patrick, &c. The writer of a brief, but full memoir of Greatrakes in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, cites a long letter from lord Conway to Sir George Rawdon, in which he gives an account of a cure to which he was an eyewitness. The subject was a leper who had for ten years been considered incurable. He was the son of a person of high respectability, and brought forward by the bishop of Gloucester, which makes fraudulent conclusion improbable—the cure was immediate. The case is, therefore, as strong and as well attested as any such case is likely to be.

The celebrity thus attained by Greatrakes in England was very great. And Charles II. who invited him to London, recommended him very strongly.

There is, however, no record of the latter part of his life. He is traced in Dublin, in 1681, when he was about fifty-three years of age.

Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon.

BORN A.D. 1633.—DIED A.D. 1684.

THE ancestry of this nobleman has been already noticed among these memoirs. He was son to the third earl of Roscommon, and by his mother, nephew to the illustrious earl of Strafford.

His father had been in the communion of the church of Rome, but was converted by Usher—so that he was educated as a protestant. His early years were wholly past in Ireland, and he first visited England when his uncle, the earl of Strafford, returned thither from his government, and carried him over to his seat in Yorkshire, where he placed him under the care of a Mr Hall, an eminent scholar. It is mentioned that, from this gentleman, he learned Latin without any previous instruction in grammar, of which it was found impossible to make him recollect the rules. The difficulty is, indeed, one of such frequent occurrence, that it is satisfactory to learn that his lordship was distinguished for the ease and purity of his Latin—in which he maintained a considerable correspondence.

The beginning of the civil wars made it unsafe to remain under the protection of the earl of Strafford, and, by the advice of archbishop Usher, he was sent to France. There was a Protestant university in Caen—here he studied for some time under the tuition of Bochart.

Having completed his course of study, he travelled through Italy, where he attained considerable skill in medals, and a perfect mastery of the language. He did not return to England till the restoration—he was favourably received by king Charles II., and made captain of the band of pensioners.

His intercourse with the dissolute court of Charles was productive of a hurtful effect upon his morals, and he abandoned himself for a time to excesses from which not many recover. He injured his estate by gambling, and is said to have fought many duels.

Some questions having arisen about a part of his property, he was compelled to visit Ireland, and resigned his post at court. The duke of Ormonde, soon after his arrival, made him captain of the guards. This post he soon resigned under the following circumstances,—as he was one night returning home from a gaming-house, he was suddenly set upon by three men, who, it is said, were hired for the purpose. He slew one of them, and a gentleman who was passing at the instant came to his assistance and disarmed another, on which the third ran away. The gentleman who thus seasonably had come to his aid, was a disbanded officer of excellent reputation, but in a condition of utter want. The earl, entertaining a strong sense of the important service to which he probably owed his life, determined to resign his own post in his favour, and solicited the duke for his permission. The duke consented, and the gentleman was appointed captain in his place.

He returned to England as soon as the arrangement of his affairs permitted. There he was appointed master of the horse to the duchess of York. He soon after married a daughter of lord Burlington.

From the time of his marriage he gave himself to literature, and became, as the reader is probably aware, one of the distinguished poets of that time. He was associated with all that was gifted and brilliant among the wits and poets of the town and court, and was joined with Dryden in a project for fixing the standard of the English tongue. The growing interruption of those ecclesiastical disturbances which had begun to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and, doubtless, brought serious alarm to a generation which yet retained the memory of the preaching soldiers of Cromwell—damped the ardour of literary projects, and made his lordship doubt the safety of England. He resolved to pass the remainder of his life in Rome, and told his friends, that "it would be best to sit next to the chimney when it smoked." Dr Johnson has observed that the meaning of the sentence is obscure. We do not think many of our readers will join in this opinion: if any one should, he has but to call to mind the religious opinions of the king and his brother, and the projects which the duke was then well known to entertain for the restoration of the pope's supremacy in England and Ireland.

The earl's departure was obstructed by a fit of the gout. In his anxiety to travel, he employed some quack, who drove the disorder into some vital part; and his lordship died in January, 1684. He was interred in Westminster Abbey.

The poetry of the earl of Roscommon is no longer known. He seems, however, to have been the first who conceived any idea of that correct versification, and that precise and neatly turned line which was

brought afterwards to a state of perfection by Pope and his followers. As Johnson has justly said, "He is elegant, but not great; he never labours after exquisite beauties; and he seldom falls into gross faults. His versification is smooth, but rarely vigorous; and his rhymes are remarkably exact. He improved taste, if he did not enlarge knowledge, and may be remembered among the benefactors to English literature." He is also said, by the same great authority, to have been "the only correct writer of verse before Addison;" and cites a couplet from Pope, which pays him the higher tribute of having been the only moral writer in the licentious court of Charles. His great work was a Metrical Essay on Translated Verse. He also translated the *Arte Poetica*, from Horace. His translation of Dies Iræ, is among the happiest attempts which have been made upon that untranslatable hymn. Many of his lesser productions have been mentioned with applause.

Sir James Ware.

BORN A.D. 1594.—DIED A D. 1666.

AMONG those to whom Ireland is indebted for the collection and preservation of the most authentic materials for her history, no name can be placed above that of Ware. And we have to express regret that we are not more fully informed in the history of his life.

He was born 26th November, 1594, in Castle Street, in the city of Dublin. His father was auditor-general, with reversion to his son. At the age of sixteen he entered as a fellow-commoner in the university of Dublin: and took bachelor's and master's degrees at the usual times. The distinction which he maintained among his fellow-students, and, above all, the taste he early began to show for the study of antiquities, attracted the notice, and gained the friendship, of Usher, who was at the time professor of divinity in the university. Ware had early commenced his collections, and Usher's collection and library were open to him; as also that of Daniel Molyneux, Ulster king-at-arms.

In 1626, he went to London, and was introduced, by Usher, to Sir Robert Cotton, who opened to him his valuable and extensive collections and library. He also made laborious researches in the Tower and other state-paper offices and repositories, from all of which he obtained large treasures of original and important records—from which he made copious extracts and copies.

On his return home, he commenced those valuable labours, by which he is now best known; and published the first parts of the History of the Irish Bishops.

His second visit to London was in 1628, when his acquaintance with Seldon, and other eminent antiquarians, enabled him to enlarge his collections very considerably. In 1629, on his return to Ireland, he was knighted by the lords justices. In 1632, his father died, and he succeeded him as auditor-general. From the lord lieutenant, Wentworth, he obtained a seat in the privy council.

Though attentive to his public duties, Sir James Ware was not

remiss in the pursuit of his favourite studies. He soon after published "Spenser's View of the State of Ireland." He was at this time engaged in collecting accounts of the "Writers of Ireland." His well-known work under that title, came out in 1639.

In the troubled period which commenced in 1641, his conduct was, in the highest degree, praiseworthy. The following is the valuable testimony of the marquess of Ormonde. "Even when his majesty's affairs were most neglected, and when it was not safe for any man to show himself for them, he then appeared most zealously and stoutly for them."

In 1644, he was sent over to Oxford, as the fittest person to give the king an account of the state of Ireland, and to receive his commands on the negotiation then in progress. He availed himself of the occasion for his favourite pursuit. He was honoured by the university with a degree of doctor of laws. When returning, with despatches from the king, the packet in which he sailed was taken by a parliament ship. He was sent prisoner to London, and there committed to the Tower, where he remained for ten months—after which he was exchanged. He continued, in Dublin, to take a prominent part in the king's affairs, and was high in the confidence of the marquess of Ormonde. At the surrender of Dublin to the parliamentary commanders, in 1647, he was demanded as one of the hostages, and, as such, taken to London. On his return to Dublin his office was, of course, at an end, and he lived as a private person, until governor Jones banished him, by an order, to any place beyond seas except England. Sir James went over to France, where he resided successively at Caen and in Paris, still occupied with his antiquarian studies.

In 1651, his private affairs required his presence in England, whither he came, by parliamentary license; and, after a couple of years, went over to Ireland, to visit his estate.

During the whole of this interval, he was busy in the publication of his works, which were printed in England. The "Antiquities" came out in 1654; and four years after he published a second and improved edition.

On the Restoration, he was, at once, reinstated in his office of auditor-general, by Charles, to whom he had given a large sum of money in his necessity. At the election of parliament, he was chosen member for the university. He was, soon after, appointed one of the four commissioners for appeal in excise cases; and a commissioner for the settlement under the king's declaration.

He refused the king's offer of a title; but, according to Harris, obtained baronetcies for two of his friends.

His "Annals" were published next; and in 1665, the "History of the Irish Bishops" came out entire. But death cut short his projects of literature. He died on the 3d December, 1666, and was buried in his family vault in St Werburgh's church.

Several miscellaneous statements are given by Harris and others, of his uprightness, benevolence, and justice. He always refused his official fees from widows, the clergy, and their sons. He lived in a season of great distress, and exerted himself to the utmost for its relief. His house and table were a known refuge for the victims of reverse

and spoliation; and when he was given possession of some houses and tenements, forfeited for rebellion, he instantly sent for the widow and children of the forfeitee, and made a legal conveyance of the premises in their favour.

His works are known. They have a distinguished place in every library which has its shelf for the History of Ireland. They are valuable for their brief accuracy, and comprehensive extent—supplying the place of a guide and faithful sign-post to the student in a vast chaos of undigested literature. There are few of any real importance on the subject, of which the main outline will not be found among Ware's writings, with a happy freedom from theories, for which he had too little genius, yet too much common sense.

Henry Dodwell.

BORN A.D. 1641—DIED A.D. 1711.

DODWELL was born in Dublin in 1641. He was educated in Trinity college, where he obtained a fellowship. He is to be commemorated for his extraordinary erudition, of which Gibbon has observed, "Dodwell's learning was immense. In this part of history, especially, nothing could escape him; and his skill in employing them is equal to his learning." From this most authoritative opinion, it might be inferred that his writings must have been important for their learning and extent of research: and such was the fact. He wrote several important dissertations on chronology. He was a party in the celebrated dispute on the epistles of Phalaris, and wrote "Two Dissertations on the Age of Phalaris and Pythagoras;" with many other works of great industry and research, which have not now sufficient importance for any distinct enumeration. He was, like many other great scholars, not equally gifted with the higher intellectual endowments: his opinions were eccentric, and his reasonings perplexed and inconclusive. Tillotson, whom he consulted on some of his theological writings, advised him against their publication, telling him, "such particulars are so perfectly false, that I wonder you do not perceive the absurdity of them." On the theology of such a thinker and reasoner it is unnecessary to dwell. A sufficient estimate of his character as a speculative writer, may, perhaps, not unfairly be formed from the title of one of his works: "An Epistolary Discourse, proving, from the Scripture and from the First Fathers, that the Soul is a Principle naturally mortal; but immortalized actually by the Pleasure of God, to Punishment or Reward, by its Union with the Divine Baptismal Spirit: Wherein it is proved that None have the Power of giving this Divine Immortalizing Spirit since the Apostles, but only the Bishops." Prefixed to this was a Dissertation to prove that "Sacerdotal Absolution is necessary for the Remission of Sins, even of those who are truly penitent." Such propositions were sure to draw forth abundance of refutation, and Dodwell was assailed from many a quarter. He defended himself in numerous tracts, and amply illustrated the saying of the Preacher, that "in many books there is much folly"—where the

student happens to have no wisdom of his own. Such writers as Dodwell are, indeed, chiefly to be commemorated, as manifesting by instances, the otherwise very attainable inference, that there is a very broad distinction between the talents which are available to accumulate, and those which can add anything to human knowledge. The eminence of Dodwell demands no discussion of his tenets. He was, however, conscientious and zealous both in conduct and feeling, and carried sincerity so far as to sustain the trials to which he was exposed by his principles. His fellowship was resigned, because he scrupled to enter into holy orders, as prescribed by the statutes of the college. He was appointed Camden professor of history in the university of Oxford; but was deprived, in 1691, on refusing to take the oaths to the new government,—a fact the more remarkable, as he was, for some time, chaplain in Holland to the princess of Orange, on the recommendation of Dr Lloyd, afterwards bishop of Worcester.

After the loss of his professorship, Dodwell retired to the country, and married at the age of fifty-two. In his retirement, he continued his literary labours, and produced the most useful and creditable of his writings, chiefly on the chronology of Roman authors and history.

He died at Shottsbrooke, in his seventieth year, in 1711.

John Toland.

BORN A.D. 1669.—DIED A.D. 1722.

THE life of Toland derives its entire importance from the perversion of considerable ingenuity and shrewdness for the most pernicious ends: an eminence which would, nevertheless, not be considered of itself a sufficient claim to our notice, were he not recommended as one of the earliest of the modern deists. In this, as in all cases where the vindication of the first principles of philosophy, social order, or religious truth, become inextricably connected with the history of an individual, otherwise obscure, we shall hold ourselves exempt from the necessity of entering into superfluous details respecting his life, and direct our main consideration to the full statement and examination of his opinions.

The following are the main incidents of John Toland's life. He was born in 1669, at Inis Eogan, in the north of Ireland. His parents were of the church of Rome. He studied in Glasgow; but, in 1690, he took the degree of master of arts in Edinburgh. Having changed from the religion of his early life, he became a dissenter; and, travelling into England, his talent soon attracted the favourable notice of the dissenters, and he was recommended by some of their principal divines, as a fit person to become a teacher among them. With this view he was sent abroad, at the expense of the body which thus adopted him, to study theology at Leyden. After two years he returned, having devoted himself, with exemplary diligence, to his studies, and obtained some reputation for knowledge and ability. He soon retired to live in Oxford, where he could obtain access to books with facility, and there entered on the composition of his known work, "Christianity

Not Mysterious." On this he was for a considerable time employed, and it was not published till after his arrival in London in 1696. Its reception was such as might be well inferred by a sagacious reader of such a work. Toland had proceeded with caution: he was aware that by a certain degree of moderation in not pursuing his opinions to their full lengths, he might not only present a less assailable front to his opponents; but that he would even have a large portion of the nominal christian world on his side. The world, while its common sense and its formal respect for truth is shocked by open assaults upon christianity, is yet not displeased to have its authority lessened, and its pure and severe spirit lowered into conformity with the inferior standard which it is willing to adopt. Such was the apparent tendency of Toland's first attack; and it imposed on many good, and even upon some wise men. Such deceptions had, however, their foundation in the unhappy state of ignorance of the doctrinal system of scripture which then prevailed. As this ignorance must have failed to affect the opinions of churchmen, and of the christian portion of the community, Toland's book could not escape attacks, and a degree of reprobation adequate to its real demerits. And such were, in effect, the consequences. He was immediately assailed with merited severity: he was refuted in numerous publications, and prosecuted by law. Such prosecutions require, at least, very strong grounds to render them not injudicious. In all such cases, it is incumbent on the executive government to compute, with precision, the amount of the real consequences of the crime, or of the prosecution. It is, perhaps, only where the law is seconded by public opinion, that such a measure can ever have its proper consequences. This was not such a case; the spirit of the hour was in Toland's favour; the zeal for liberty of opinion was high, and that of religious feeling was low; and there was a temper of mind cultivated, which diverted the understandings of men like Molyneux and Locke from looking at the matter in its actual bearings. They looked on Toland, not as a wily foe to truths which they themselves held in veneration, but as one who, like themselves, was impatient of the shackles of ancient error, and who stood forth boldly to place christianity on the grounds of reason. In their views also there were errors which it would complicate this memoir to disentangle here—we shall come presently to their exposition.

For a time, and but for a time, Mr Locke was imposed upon by his own prepossessions and the dexterity of Toland; and he became his zealous supporter in the storm of opposition. Notwithstanding his zeal for freedom, and his love of toleration, and some incorrect tenets —which were, in a measure, the result of his temper of mind and his times—Mr Locke was soon awake to the dubious pretensions of the empiric; he took his part, but was too cautious to admit him to his intimacy. He was especially offended by the inordinate vanity which seems to have been the characteristic feature of Toland. Mr Locke's sagacity could not have been long deceived: every one, who is much conversant with mankind, will at once comprehend, that there are slight indications in the countenance, manner, gesture, and language, too fine to be distinctly described, or to find their way into any record, but which, like characteristic looks, at once strike the

knowing observer with a prescient impression of the real character of the person. And, above all, in such a character as Toland's will presently appear to have been, these indications are never wanting. The adventurer is ever marked by some of those fine irregularities of aspect and manner which are best designated by the term "scampish."

Toland came over to Dublin, where his fame had preceded him. He heard his book analyzed, and its intent exposed and refuted in the pulpit; and was, very generally, encountered with question and controversy. This was, however, rendered personally hurtful by the manner and temper in which it was met. The overweening vanity of the man led him to the display of arrogant pretensions, and to a rude and dogmatic disregard for time, place and person. The caution which, in some degree, guarded the pernicious absurdities of his book, was abandoned in colloquial discussion; and it is probable, too, that numerous unrecorded, but easily inferred, indications in his habits, such as we have already described, led to a more true and just appreciation of his real views. He gradually accumulated a body of opinion and feeling against himself, and the consequence is stated in a letter from Mr Molyneux to Locke:—"Mr Toland is, at last, driven out of our kingdom. The poor gentleman, by his imprudent management, had raised such an unusual outcry, that it was even dangerous for a man to have been known once to converse with him. This made all wary men of reputation decline seeing him—insomuch that, at last, he wanted a meal's meat, as I am told—and none would admit him to their tables. The little stock of money which he brought to this country being exhausted, he fell to borrowing from any one who would lend him half-a-crown; and ran in debt for his wigs, clothes, and lodgings, as I am informed. And, last of all, to complete his hardships, the parliament fell on his book—voted it to be burned by the common hangman—and ordered the author to be taken into custody by the serjeant-at-arms, and to be prosecuted by the attorney-general at law. Hereupon he is fled out of the kingdom, and none here knows where he has directed his course." We consider this account so far important, as it exhibits the real character of this wretched man—in whom no small intellectual powers were wasted and degraded. We are desirous to take the opportunity to illustrate an important first truth—that there is a nearer connexion than is, perhaps, generally suspected between moral virtue and right reason. With this consideration we shall not, however, interrupt our narrative, as it will find a more convenient place at the end of our memoir, when every part of the subject will have been distinctly stated.

From Dublin Toland proceeded to take refuge in London. There, comparatively secure in the obscurity of the throng, he digested the insults his vanity had sustained, and meditated vindictive attacks on the christian religion. His courage was not equal to his resentment. Not daring to give a direct blow to the object of his malice, he seems to have projected, from the first, what he considered the safer course. As he had commenced with a design to overthrow revealed religion under the pretext of friendship, by placing it in an assailable position, he next conceived the project of attacking it more directly under the pretext of arguments apparently unconnected with it. For this pur-

pose it was easy to find the pretext—the genuineness of the Icon Basilike presented precisely the occasion to misrepresent the evidences for the canon of scripture, without committing him directly on so dangerous a subject. Of course, however, in a country like England, the remotest and most dexterous falsification of the laws of evidence could not escape, nor could the cowardly artifices of sophistry be long permitted to lurk, under the cover of perfidious insinuation. Toland was quickly dragged to light by Dr Blackall, afterwards bishop of Exeter. He had the poverty of spirit to vindicate himself by falsehood, and asserted that it had been his design, not to attack, but to illustrate and confirm the canon of the scriptures.

The subject was introduced in the lower house of convocation, and five propositions were extracted from his former publication, "Christianity Not Mysterious"—on which the resolution was past, that, "in their judgment, the said book contained pernicious principles, of dangerous consequence to the christian religion; that it tended, and—as they conceived—was written on a design to subvert the fundamental articles of the christian faith," &c. The resolution, of which this is a portion, was reported to the upper house, and it passed a resolution to prosecute the author. This course was prevented by the opinion of the law authorities consulted upon the occasion, that the convocation could not act without a license from the king. Toland had the weakness to triumph in such an escape; and, drawing the conclusion that he might now proceed more boldly, he began more freely to avow his genuine views.

It does not appear to us in any way necessary to waste our fast-contracting space, in detailing the political adventures of Toland. He was a political pamphleteer of great expertness and talent; and his character and abilities found their most appropriate level in party intrigue. Had the elements of his moral temper been of a higher and firmer order, and his career exclusively that for which his talents qualified him, we might, happily, have here a different and more agreeable duty to discharge. But in the actual case, he has no claim upon us but as a deist mischievous in his generation.

A brief statement of some otherwise unimportant facts, may, however, be very available for our main purpose. Toland appears in two characters distinct in themselves. We think it a part of our task to identify them. There is a truth of much general application, which should be here observed. On every side, in all great questions in which principle is involved, both parties will find zealous support from persons of extreme, and, therefore, pernicious and false views. Thus, as we shall find order and religion often maintained by prejudice and official corruption, so will the intriguer for license appear among the advocates for liberty. There is, therefore, no deduction to be made from the unfavourable portrait we would here draw for Toland, that his political principles place him among the constitutional ranks of the whigs of 1690. The ability of his pamphlets gave him a momentary importance. His "Anglia Libera" was published in 1701, upon the passing of the act of settlement; and when the earl of Macclesfield was sent to Hanover with a copy of the act to the electoral family, whose succession was thus secured, Toland accompanied him, and the earl presented his

book to the princess Sophia. He was, consequently, received with all the favour due to a zealous and useful supporter of the succession: he remained for some weeks at court, and, on his return, was dismissed with presents and honours, among which were portraits of the members of the electoral family. He visited Berlin, with such favourable recommendations, as gave him there, also, access to the court. Such advantages, with the useful talents which he unquestionably possessed, placed him on a footing from which a man of high masculine virtues would have scarcely failed to rise to eminence, and such honours and promotions as are the main objects of public life. But the person who can be used in services of doubtful respectability is, for obvious reasons, not likely to be raised to a higher sphere of action: there are those whose perceptions of the difference between the lofty and the mean are so obtuse, that their ambition will seldom fail to rush upon courses of low subserviency as the paths of advancement, and become the useful and despised servants of firmer and prouder spirits. Such a man we see all reason to pronounce Toland. His pen was employed by Mr Harley, and he obtained the character of being employed by him as a spy. The imputation sits at least consistently upon his character, as known by all the earlier known incidents of his life. Indeed, upon Toland the character reflects no discredit, and it is only important for the lesson which we have endeavoured to point out;—he had the talents and opportunities which gave a different kind of importance to the characters of Swift, Steele, and Addison. If, however, it were worth while to reason out the allegation, it is to be observed, that there is strong confirmation, in a variety of ascertained particulars, which mark the habits and relations acquired in a course of active political intrigue. Without having attained reputation or honourable promotion, Toland was evidently in the use and possession of the underhand avenues and approaches, which enabled him to assume the pretence of an influence which he did not possess, and to act as a place-broker for others. This is not, however, intended to be charged wholly to fraudulent intent. His inordinate vanity led him to exaggerate his importance,—he was useful, and thought himself important. Deficient in the fine and lofty instincts of more elevated minds, Toland could walk with unconscious vanity in degrading ways, and glory in positions where others would be ashamed.

In the course which may be thus generally described he spent several years,—most successful as a pamphleteer, employed by statesmen, and rewarded by profuse gifts and remunerations,—passing also through a great variety of vicissitudes and adventures, of which there is no record but the evidence of vaguely described results. In 1718, he seems at last to have subsided into the philosopher again—the spirit of his youth returned, and he began to publish a continuation of the series of writings for the sake of which we notice him here. In 1725, his "Pantheisticon" appeared, in which it plainly appears, that the opponent of those mysteries which are made known by revelation, may have no objection to mysteries of his own invention. The following is a specimen:—"*In mundo omnia sunt unum; unumque est omne in omnibus; quod omne in omnibus Deus est; æternus ac immensus, neque genitus neque interiturus. In eo vivimus, movemus, et existimus. Ab eo na-*

tum est unumquidque, in eumque denuo reverturum." Such is the statement of what may be regarded as the fundamental tenet of the sect of Pantheists—the blasphemous and atheistic society to which Toland belonged. Its entire want of distinct meaning, is such as to suggest the anxious question,—why it is that those who reject the plain and forcible evidences of the christian religion, can be imposed upon by such senseless absurdity. The answer is complicated with numerous considerations; among which is the important fact, that deism is not founded either on the use, or even the abuse of reason, although, in common with all the errors and crimes of men, it is thought important to plead so imposing a sanction; and hence appears the very common phenomenon of persons disclaiming what they would call the impositions of priests and sects, on the alleged ground of the same want of sense and reasonable ground, which is truly and glaringly perceptible in those creeds and philosophies which they set up for themselves. But the secret is made far more apparent from the direct comparison of that which they follow and that which they reject. The religion which would "mortify the deeds of the body," may, in the present instance, be weighed against the pantheism described by Toland. Pantheism, on the authority of a pantheist, was the elevation of every vice into a virtue, by the only means in which human reason could be forced into a sanction—the adoption of unintelligible tenets to perplex the understanding—and, under pretence of reason, set common sense aside. The pantheists were a bacchanalian society, which met to participate in the most frantic follies and indulgences, and encourage each other into a defiance of all restraints of conscience. At those meetings, it was customary to have authorities for atheism brought forward, and passages read out of such ancient writers as might seem to favour the same object. Thus, indeed,—and it is but one of a class, of similar cases,—the very religious feelings implanted in the human breast are converted into a barrier against religion itself.

Toland's book was published at the call of hunger. He had dropped into poverty and neglect; he had been used and abused; and, like all such tools, thrown aside. He was compelled to write a book, not for sale, but to levy a contribution on charity. The subject readiest to his understanding, and nearest to his heart, was the raving impiety of pantheism. The book was privately circulated among such persons as could be prevailed upon to make it the excuse for their benevolence. Among its purchasers, it may be presumed that the greater number were ignorant of the real nature of the book.

Toland was living in London in the winter of 1722, when he fell so ill as to be compelled to have recourse to medical advice. The treatment he received was not successful, and he left his physician and retired to Putney, where he had long been accustomed to pass his summers. Here, for a time, he recovered his strength so far as to be enabled to write "A Dissertation upon the uncertainty of Physic, and the danger of trusting our lives to those who practise it." He soon, however, found that it was not impossible to die without a doctor's help; and, after a short and tedious illness, expired in March, 1722.

We approach, with some reluctance, the discharge of our critical duty in the estimate of the literary character of Toland. The space

which he occupies in the history of literature belongs less to any claim of splendid ability or extensive acquirement, than to that false reputation which may be easily acquired by the meanest talents, when employed in the service of a reigning folly or a popular delusion; and most, perhaps, of all, in the support of any of those forms of unbelief which have their origin in the perversions of human nature. Any empiric—and such are the infidel writers from first to last—who will undertake to release men from the terrors and restraints of the law of God, as declared by himself, and substitute in its place some specious invention, of a kind more accommodating to sin, is sure of all the support that the worst dispositions of mankind can venture to give. To acquire eminence in the senate, at the bar, in the chair of science, is no easy matter,—but it is easy to rise to the vicious eminence of an apologist for vice or folly; and what but such a facility can account for Deism, and the fame of its most eminent professors? If, on any other subject of study which lies within the compass of their power, such reasoners as Herbert, Shaftesbury, and Spinoza, with their long train of jarring sectaries in folly, had appeared,—not even the splendour of eloquence, the original nerve and vein of thought, or the utmost dexterity of perversion, could for an hour impose on the meanest understanding capable of the perusal of such writings. If they had so reasoned on municipal law, on political economy, on mathematics, or on astronomy,—replete as the history of human knowledge is with error,—it would at once be seen that they were gratuitous in their data, evasive and sophistical in their reasonings, and all irreconcilably at variance among themselves. On no other subject but revealed religion will the most coarse and palpable contradictions pass; or the most current and practical observation and experience which govern in all other things, be flippantly denied. Hundreds of persons may be met indeed in the public-room of a stagecoach hotel who pretend to have no acquaintance with history, or law, or science, or any branch of human knowledge beyond some low calling; and yet, if the subject of christianity should by accident be introduced, will shake their heads, smile sardonically, and rise to the dignity of philosophers. To these the mission of a man, like Toland, will always be an *avatar* of living inspiration. And though, happily, there is a predominance of respect for known truth, and a reverence for the rock-built structure of our faith which will combine against such men all that is respectable in society; yet he will not want a congregation. It is also a truth, applicable in this place, that artifice holds as large a place in the proceedings of the deist, as sophistry—to be heard by christians, he will profess to be a christian—when Satan preaches it will be in a garb of light, and perhaps not without interpretations of holy writ. Toland, like Herbert and Shaftesbury, set out with the profession of christianity—like these eminent men to whom, indeed, the comparison is no compliment, he professed friendship, in order to betray. It is curious to observe how the character of Judas has been transmitted.

First assuming the character of a christian writer, and falling in with the notions of a sect favourable to his purpose, he wrote a book full of craft, and in the highest degree calculated to deceive. At that time it was too usual in the pulpit to hear christianity divested of its

doctrines, and reduced to the ethical system which should have its true source in those doctrines—this also favoured the craft of Toland. There were then—as there are still—vast numbers of professing christians who, without denying the authority of Divine revelation, thought very little about it; and who, adopting the ethical system of their preachers, were *virtually* no more than deists with a christian morality. All this afforded great facility for Toland's attack—it was substantially no more than an assault upon quarters which there was no very general zeal to defend. To the professing christian, ignorant of the elementary foundations of his creed, and mainly anxious to take the ground which was most conformable to his inclinations—it would not be unwelcome to have an assurance which lowered the standard of faith, and stripped christianity of all but that which it has in common with worldly wisdom and virtue. Toland met these dispositions in a work in which he attempted to prove that christianity has no mysteries, as it could not be believed that God would impose upon his creatures a faith in things which they could not by nature understand. Such a sophism can hardly be conceived to deceive its author, and is but a proof of dishonesty of purpose. If God had required that man should *understand* that which he had made him incapable of understanding, the argument would have some force. Or if it could be proved from experience, that no fact could be believed until it was first clearly explicable by the understanding, still there would follow some conclusion. But Toland's proof amounts to the lowest equivocation between *belief* and *understanding*. Man believes much, and understands little. And there are few things indeed, and those only human inventions for which he has the evidence which Toland would require for the truths of Scripture. That there should be things existing beyond the narrow limits of human sense is in no way improbable—that these things may be unintelligible to one who understands so little, is as obvious to reason —that a being who is to exist in another state may be in some way concerned in such things, is not liable to any rational objection—that God, the ruler of both states, should reveal them, seems a consequence —that the authority of God should be the surest proof, cannot be denied—and the argument of Toland is, of course, absurd. The question which meets him, and every deist who has straitness of intellect enough to see it, is, as to the immediate authentication of Divine authority. Accordingly, in a subsequent work, he made a very similar attack upon the canon of the Scriptures, under the pretence of discussing a wholly different question. We may, however, dismiss the subject. Christianity has two classes of assailants, of which one must never pass without especial notice; the other may be left to those who are professionally engaged in the maintenance of sacred truth: sophisms which have their foundation in the common infirmity of human reason, and which, without study or prompting, are for ever renewed, ought to be resisted in every quarter. But attacks on the canon of Scripture demand a degree of study which, when any honest understanding applies to the subject, such attacks must be soon relinquished. The best works on testimony, as being the most irrefragable in their reasonings, are those on the canon of Scripture.

Sir William Brounker, Viscount Castlelyons.

BORN A.D. 1620.—DIED A.D. 1684.

THIS eminent mathematician should have appeared at a somewhat earlier period of our labours. The particulars of his life, on record, are few. He was born in 1620—of his education we can only ascertain that it was irregular, but that, following the bent of his genius, he applied himself with zeal to mathematical science, and early obtained a high reputation among the most eminent philosophers of his day. On the incorporation of the Royal Society, he was elected *pro tempore*, the first president, and continued, by successive election, to fill this exalted station for fifteen years. During this period he contributed some important papers to the Transactions. To him is due the honour of the first idea of continued fractions. He also first solved some ingenious problems in the Indeterminate Analysis. Among his papers, in the "Transactions," the most remarkable are "Experiments concerning the recoiling of Guns; and a series for the quadrature of the Hyperbola."

He was appointed chancellor to the queen, and keeper of her seal—was one of the commissioners for executing the duties of lord high admiral. In 1681, he obtained the mastership of St Katherine's Hospital, near the Tower. He died at his house, in St James' Street, April 5, 1684, and was buried in a vault which he had built for himself in the choir of the hospital.

George Farquhar.

BORN, A.D. 1678.—DIED, A.D. 1707.

FARQUHAR was the son of a clergyman, and was born in Londonderry in 1678. He is said to have manifested early proofs of dramatic genius. He entered in the university of Dublin, in 1694; and, for some time, showed both industry and talent, but soon fell into a course of dissipation. The result was a total relaxation in his studies, and, if the account which has been given of his expulsion from college be true, he must have, for some time at least, fallen very low into the depraved levities, to which the young are liable when too soon set free from parental control. His class had been given an exercise on a sacred subject, which Farquhar having neglected until he was called upon in the hall, or perhaps in his tutor's apartment; he then proposed to acquit himself by an extemporaneous exercise. The proposal was allowed, and he wrote or uttered a jest at the same time so wretched, indecent, and blasphemous, that we cannot here make even an allusion to its monstrous purport. We are, indeed, inclined to disbelieve a story of such silliness and depravity; but, if it really occurred, it would serve to exemplify a mind so far gone from every sense of respect and decency, as for a time at least to have forgotten their existence in

others; for it is said that Farquhar was disappointed at the failure of a witticism which could only have been tolerated in the last stages of drunkenness, to elicit the approbation of sober and religious men.

The narrative of this strange account relates that, in consequence he was expelled, *tanquam pestilentia hujus societatis*, from the university. The walks of professional life, which are the general aim of academic study, were thus closed against him, and he took refuge upon the stage for which he had in the meantime contracted a strong taste. He had formed an intimacy with Wilks, a well-known English actor, at the time engaged in Dublin, and by his interposition obtained an engagement. His *debut* was favourable, and he continued for a short time on the stage, until he had the ill fortune to wound a brother actor very severely in playing a part in Dryden's play of the Indian emperor. The accident was occasioned by his having inadvertently neglected to change his sword for a foil, in a scene in which he was to kill his antagonist. He was so much shocked that he resolved at once to abandon the stage as an actor.

His friend Wilks was at the time engaged by Rich to play in London. Farquhar accompanied him—and there is reason to presume, that he must have previously made up his mind to try his fortune and genius as a dramatic writer. He had also the good fortune to become acquainted with the earl of Orrery, who gave him a lieutenancy in his regiment.

In 1698, he brought out his comedy of "Love in a Bottle," which was acted with applause. In 1700, he produced his "Trip to the Jubilee," and obtained well-merited popularity by the character of Sir Harry Wildair. This celebrated comedy had a run of fifty-three nights, and gained a reputation for Wilks in the principal character not inferior to that of the author. The same year Farquhar paid a visit to Holland, where he obtained the notice due to his celebrity. Among the incidents of this visit, he mentions an entertainment given by the earl of Westmoreland, at which king William was a guest.

By the influence of Farquhar, that well-known actress, Mrs Oldfield, was first introduced to the London boards in her sixteenth year. Her success was promoted by a drama brought out in 1701 by her protector, in which she obtained very distinguished applause. This was the year of Dryden's death—and Farquhar gives a description of his funeral in one of his letters. The following year he published his letters, essays, and poems, which are replete with all the peculiar qualities of his mind. Among these letters there is one in which he gives to his mistress, Mrs Oldfield, a very characteristic description of himself. "My outside is neither better nor worse than Creator made it; and the piece being drawn by so great an artist, 'twere presumption to say there were many strokes amiss. I have a body qualified to answer all the ends of its creation, and that's sufficient. As to the mind, which, in most men, wears as many changes as their body, so in me 'tis generally dressed in *black*. In short, my constitution is very splenetic, and my amours, both which I endeavour to hide lest the former should offend others, and the latter incommode myself; and my mind is so vigilant in restraining these two failings, that I am taken for an easy-natured man by my own sex, and an ill-natured clown by

yours.' I have little estate but what lies under the circumference of my hat; and should I by misfortune lose my head, I should not be worth a groat. But I ought to thank Providence that I can, by three hours' study, live one and twenty, with satisfaction to myself, and contribute to the maintenance of more families than some who have thousands a year."

In 1702, "the Inconstant" appeared with less than his usual success: this is accounted for by the circumstance of a change in the public taste in favour of the Italian opera. The same year he became the dupe of a female adventurer, who took a violent fancy to him, and determined to obtain him for a husband by an unprincipled stratagem, which, perhaps, loses much of its disgusting character when viewed in reference to the lax morals of the period, and the depraved lessons of the stage, in which Farquhar had his ample share. Knowing that he was not to be won without money, the female of whom we speak, caused reports of her ample fortune to be circulated in every quarter which best suited her design. And, in the same way, it was conveyed to the vain poet's ear, that she had become desperately in love with him. Farquhar, who was utterly devoid of discretion, at once fell into the snare: the double bait was more than vanity and poverty could withstand. He married his fair ensnarer, and was, of course, undeceived not very satisfactorily—such a practical exemplification of his art he must have considered as bordering too nearly upon the tragic. But it was among the lessons of his pen, and in the habitual contemplation of his mind more nearly allied to the wit of the comic author, than to the baseness of the actual reality. Farquhar too, was not one to brood over an injury, or to reflect very seriously on anything: if he was shocked, it was only for a moment, and he easily forgave the trick; and is said to have always after conducted himself with affection and kindness to his wife.

In 1704, he produced the "Stage Coach," a farce, with the assistance of a friend. In the following year "The Twin Rivals" appeared; and in 1706, "The Recruiting Officer," of which he is mentioned to have collected the materials on a recruiting party in which he was employed for his regiment, in Shrewsbury. Captain Plume, in this farce, is supposed to represent the author himself, and serjeant Kite his serjeant.

The "Beaux Stratagem" completes the list of his works. It still holds a high place in the list of what is called genteel comedy; we know not whether it yet retains any place on the stage, but it was a favourite in the early part of the present century. He died before its appearance—a prey to grief and disappointment, owing to great distress of circumstances, and, it is said, the perfidy of his patron. This nobleman, when applied to in the hour of need, persuaded him to relieve himself by the sale of his commission, and promised to obtain another for him very soon. The advice was followed, but the promise was forgotten; and Farquhar was so heavily affected by the painful feelings occasioned by such a complicated affliction he never again held up his head, but died in April, 1707, in his twenty-ninth year. He left two daughters in a state of entire destitution; but they were befriended by Wilks, his first and last earthly friend, to whom a very pathetic

appeal was found among his papers after his death: it was the following brief note:—

"DEAR BOB,

"I have not anything to leave thee to perpetuate my memory but two helpless girls; look upon them sometimes, and think of him that was to the last moment of his life thine,

"GEORGE FARQUHAR."

Wilks obtained a benefit for the girls—it was very successful, and the produce was employed for their support.

Many years have past since we have looked into the comedies of Farquhar; we can now form but an indistinct opinion of their general character and merits from any recollection of our own. They belong perhaps to a department of the drama, which, of all branches of English literature, is the least likely to be restored to the possession of that popular favour which is the legitimate claim of those dramas which pretend to the representation of life and manners. Farquhar has been compared with Congreve. If the preference were to be settled with regard to pre-eminence of genius, or even superiority in that wit, in which both excelled, we should not hesitate to decide for Congreve—if, indeed, we should admit the propriety of so unequal a comparison. But Farquhar has his advantages which, although less brilliant and imposing when viewed with regard to genius only, give him many practical claims to an effective superiority. Compared with his greater rival, he is far more natural, and far less licentious and impure: and while the sparkling dialogues of Congreve could never have taken place except upon the stage, Farquhar's scenes were at least true to human life, the manners of his day, and the passions of nature. His plots were also more finished, and the style of his dialogue more simple and unaffected.

Either of these distinguished comic writers, if they should at a future time be looked into, will be chiefly valuable for the reflexion which they retain of the taste and morals of the age in which they wrote; for, of both, it may be said, that they are licentious and artificial. There yet remained the consequences of that corruption of which we think the origin must be looked for in the disorders of the long rebellion, but which was nurtured and brought to its rank maturity in the hotbed of king Charles' court. A strong reaction set in during the reign of William and Mary; but the taint was too congenial for human nature to throw off with ease. Purer rules may be adopted by the reason and conscience, long before taste and fashion, which dwell in pleasures and levities, will be restored. The misapplications of talent are directed by the beck and eye of folly—to say no worse—and the taste of succeeding generations will long continue vitiated by the perpetuating influence of the poet.

It was in this generation, and in the person of Congreve, that the licentiousness of the comic drama received a check from which we are inclined to date much of the reform in manners, which can be subsequently traced. We refer to Collier's "Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage," published in 1688.

He was weakly opposed by Congreve, whose opposition had only the effect of prolonging, and giving added decision to the victory of his antagonist. "Collier lived," writes Dr Johnson, "to see the reward of his labour in the reformation of the theatre."

Of Congreve, we are entitled to offer a separate notice, as he was educated first at Kilkenny, and then in the university of Dublin. The place of his birth has been disputed, but he was himself strenuous in the assertion of his claim to have been a native of England. We do not see any reason to dispute the point, and our fast contracting limits offer some for declining the doubtful honour. So far as education may be allowed to govern the judgment, store the memory, or guide the taste, his literary reputation is due to the university of Dublin. A brief but sufficient memoir of his life has been written by Johnson, whose writings are in every hand.

Nahum Tate.

BORN A.D. 1652.—DIED A.D. 1715.

NAHUM TATE was the son of a clergyman of the county of Cavan. He was born in Dublin, whither his father had been driven by the rebels. His father became, after some vicissitudes, minister of Werburgh's church in Dublin. It may be inferred that the son had the advantages of a peaceable youth and pious education. At the age of sixteen he entered the university of Dublin. He was favoured early with the patronage of the earl of Dorset, and succeeded Shadwell as poet laureat. The incidents of his life were few and uninteresting. He fell into great distress and died, it is said in the Mint, into which he had escaped from his creditors.

As a writer, he cannot receive much commendation—his poems and dramatic works could hardly be considered as entitling him to a notice here. But those far and universally known versions of the psalms, which have given to piety a welcome and available resource, and added to sacred music the utterance of inspired feeling, is not to be rated by the talent that has been employed in the pious and honourable task. When the proudest monuments of human genius shall have past away, and when the thoughts of which the very foundation and meaning subsist in perishable things shall have been forgotten, the meanest song, in which eternal truths are uttered, may be preserved by their abiding truth, and be a portion of the records of heaven.

The songs of Zion do not indeed demand the genius of Moore or Byron, to give to heavenly inspiration the power of earthly genius. They demand no refined and artful melody of versification, no terse and pointed rhetoric of style, to wrest them from their pure and simple significancy: they refuse the additions which are involved in the whole art of poetry, and have only required, with the utmost truth and fidelity to be conformed to the rhythm adapted to church music, and to the genius of the national ear. To be sung, as in their origin they were, and to be still the song of every rank and tongue, as well adapted to the sabbath-evening of the peasant, as the endowed cathedral; to be

the effusion of the simplest christian piety, and still not lose their tone and echo of the ancient harp of Israel, only demanded changes of form, to which aspiring genius, with its excess of invention and profuse array of intellectual tints, will not be confined; and which a thorough infusion of genuine sympathy with pious sentiments, can alone command. In such a task a more refined and gifted mind than Tate's might have found itself wanting; and, it may perhaps be not unfitly added—for we have seen it variously exemplified—that a degree of intellectual power little competent in most exertions of human aim, when employed in the service of God, and elevated by that Spirit which is greater than the power of genius, will reach to heights which can be accounted for in no other way than by tracing them to the source of all truth and wisdom,—such efforts will ever be found characterized by a chaste adaptation to their good and hallowed purpose.

Sir Richard Steele.

BORN A.D. 1671.—DIED A.D. 1729.

STEELE was born in Dublin, some time in 1671. His father was a barrister, and private secretary to the duke of Ormonde, by whose influence his son was admitted into the charter-house in London, to be educated. In this institution he formed his acquaintance with Addison. From the charter-house he entered Merton College, Oxford, where he gave his attention chiefly to the study of English literature, and manifested that talent and restlessness of temper, so remarkable in his after life. While yet in college he wrote a comedy, which he suppressed by the advice of a fellow-student. He probably devoted more time to gaiety and dissipation than to study, and evidently became at last impatient of the sober character of a student. Being destitute of the means of the more expensive and costly dissipation of the place, and, in all probability, infected with the military tastes for gay uniform and companions, to which young men are so liable; he left the university without taking his degree, and enlisted in the horse-guards. The step was fatal to his prospects, as he was thus, by the resentment of his family, cut off from the succession to an estate in the county of Wexford, to which he was the presumptive heir.

Having thus cut the ties between him and these expectations to which he was entitled by his birth, Steele was not deficient in those less ordinary advantages, by which men of genius and enterprise occasionally make their way good in life. As often happens in such instances, he had more power to win, than prudence to secure, the advantages of success. His wit, uniform gaiety, and amiability of manner and temper, together with the pleasure-loving recklessness of his character, made him a universal favourite in the regiment. With these qualities Steele possessed another, not so much in unison with such a temper, and not so much to the taste of those by whom it is possessed—a tender and impressible conscience. Young men, abandoned to gaiety with that wholeness of devotion which generally marks

the follies of the young, will not often—if ever—be observed to be very much alive to impressions of an opposite kind; but this is chiefly because, in the crowd, the physical portion of our nature is far predominant above the moral or intellectual, and preserves therefore, more thoroughly that consistency in good or evil which is due to habits of mind, however caused. But it is different in the few cases where the mind obtains some degree of prevalence: the seeming contradiction, so frequently displayed in the career of Steele, then appears. While the animal passions, and the tastes which they engender, will hurry on the devotee of folly, he becomes, at the same time, painfully subject to the daily check of a voice which he cannot silence, because he continues, in despite of folly, to think and feel; he cannot be brutalized by the cup of Circe till after long and repeated draughts have at length destroyed the divine elements of humanity within him. In Steele, restless and impulsive as he was, the noble element was strong within; and, while his wit and spirit placed him high in the revel, he felt also a growing repugnance to the distinction, and turned in his moments of reflection to look back, with longing, upon the peaceful and happy tenor of better and more profitable years. But, above all, he was yet, in his convictions at least, a sincere Christian, and could not without compunction experience the total inconsistency with such a profession of all his present companionships and avocations. He resolved at last on a change, for which he by no means possessed adequate perseverance; yet, acting with a noble courage on his resolution, he at once took what he considered a decisive step to cut the bonds between him and temptation. In pursuance of this laudable design he wrote for himself a brief manual of moral and religious counsel, which he shortly after published under the title of "The Christian Hero." The result strongly proves the real character of his associates—he was at once denounced among them and universally shunned. Those who had been his companions and admirers took every opportunity to insult him, and, as they said, to prove whether he was a "Christian Hero" or not. Among them, one more violent and vain-glorious than the rest endeavoured to provoke him to a duel. Steele made every effort to avoid it, but the prejudice of the day was still in favour of this monstrous remnant of the barbarism of Gothic times; and public opinion was imperative. A soldier could not, without the loss of honour, refuse to expose his life at the demand of the most wanton vice and folly. Steele was compelled to meet his brutal and despicable challenger, but had the good fortune or the prowess to run him through in the encounter. The whole transaction came circumstantially before the commander of the regiment; lord Cutts, whose conduct deserves to be honourably recorded, appointed him his private secretary, and obtained him an ensigncy in the regiment of lord Lucas.

The impression made in the regiment, generally, and among the dissolute circle in which he lived, was, however, strongly unfavourable to Steele,—and not, indeed, without strong apparent ground. It was evident that a course of reckless dissipation was maintained during the composition of a book, which, thus accompanied, could not fail to carry an air of gross insincerity; his mornings were spent in preaching against the disorder and vices of his nights, and the

charge of hypocrisy can only be answered by the imputation of a more than common share of that fearful inconsistency which is a known condition of the human character. The contempt thus incurred, if not justly directed, was at least strongly sanctioned. Steele is thought to have sought refuge in literary distinction, and, under the influence of this distressing position, to have turned his mind to the drama—then the main direction of the intellectual power of the age. His first effort, in this line of composition, was the "Funeral, or Grief a la mode," a Comedy. It had at least the success of satisfying the king's taste, and the author's name was placed on the list of preferment—the king, however, did not live to effect his favourable intentions, and the list of court favour was cancelled by death. His friendship with Addison was of more avail. Addison exerted himself so strenuously that he obtained for him the appointment of writer of the *Gazette,* with a salary of £300 a-year.

Encouraged by the success of his first effort he persevered in dramatic composition; and in the course of the next few years brought out several plays, some original, some translations.

Steele is best known to posterity as a writer of periodical papers, which have survived, not alone by their own great merit, but by their conjunction with the writings of Addison, his still more illustrious friend. Steele appears to have been the projector of the first effort of this character, which, in any considerable degree, caught the public attention. He commenced the *Tattler* on the 22d April, 1709. Addison, who was not in the secret, discovered the true author by means of a comment on Virgil, which he had given to Steele. Addison's first contribution appeared on the 26th of May following, and he continued to assist his friend by a succession of papers, which continued at intervals nearly till the 2d of January, 1711, when Steele discontinued the *Tattler.* This paper may not improbably have been suggested by Swift's papers on Bickerstaff, which preceded it but a little, and it is known that Swift was for sometime an active contributor; it was not, however, till Addison became enabled by the change of the ministry to give his time to the paper, that it rose to any very considerable eminence. It advanced the reputation of Steele very much, and obtained for him the office of commissioner of stamps.

In the mean time, Steele had contracted a marriage, in which it is most likely that his principal objects were not attained,—a lady, who brought him an estate in the island of Barbadoes, considered worth eight hundred pounds a-year, but encumbered to nearly its value. Such an alliance held forth a strong temptation to one of Steele's expensive habits, and brought with it not much more than an excuse for extravagance.

On the 1st of March, 1711, the first number of the *Spectator* was published. It was conceived and generally executed in a more serious spirit, and has been, we believe, by far the most successful production of the same class. Though perhaps mainly designed as a vehicle for political opinion, it soon obtained a far higher, as well as more useful direction "to mend the manners and improve the heart;" an intent loudly called for by the time. Johnson, whose wide acquaintance with the history of literature gives authority to his remarks, in his

notice of this kind of writing in which he was himself only second to Addison, tells us,—"To teach the minuter decencies and inferior duties—to regulate the practice of daily conversation—to correct those depravities which are rather ridiculous than criminal—and to remove those grievances, which, if they produce no lasting calamities, impress hourly vexation—was first attempted by Casa in his Book of Manners, and Castiglione in his Courtier—two books yet celebrated in Italy for purity and elegance; and which, if they are now less read, are neglected only because they have effected that reformation which their authors intended." We have made this extract, not only for its historical value, but because it gives a just, though perhaps too expanded a description of this species of literature, which was a great and especial want of the time in which the *Spectator* appeared. This desideratum could not fail to force itself on the keen observation of Steele and his cotemporaries—Swift and Addison—who seem to have eminently possessed the talents which their day stood in need of. There was a laxity of manners; the result of a looseness of morals—of the prevalence of deism—and, in some measure, of the simplicity and ignorance of the times. "Before the *Tattler* and *Spectator*," says Johnson, "if the writers for the theatre are excepted, England had no masters of common life." The office here described, was, as we have already mentioned, ingrafted on the primary design, for the purpose of obtaining general attention by the production of papers in which persons of every party might find an equal interest. And as party animosity ran high during their publication, there may have been felt a very considerable attraction in papers full of wit, refinement, and interesting observation, which alone breathed no fierce passion or uncandid misrepresentation—the universal spirit of politics, then as now and ever. In these papers, which appeared daily, and were perhaps a fashionable accompaniment to the breakfast table, every one found something to learn from or be amused by—absurdities were exposed with a rare combination of good nature and playful wit—the taste of the age was instructed by criticism, such as no age or country has excelled for elegance, truth, and just refinement; while, from time to time, papers appeared in support of religious truths, which yet hold their place among the most consummate specimens of English style. These remarks would, according to our general plan, be more fitly placed at the end of this memoir; but, in point of fact, they have more reference to the papers of Addison than to those of Steele, whose share in the *Spectator* was not less in point of quantity, but in other respects stamped with the comparative inferiority of his genius to that of his friend. Johnson makes a computation, from which the daily sale of the *Spectator* appears to have amounted to no more than 1680 copies.

Among the notices connected with this period of Steele's life several stories are told, which display the singular improvidence and carelessness of his temper in a strong point of view. He was in the habit of constantly postponing the composition of his paper until the last moment, while the printer waited to carry it to the press. Mr Nutt, the printer of the *Tattler*, has been known to mention, that he had at one time occasion to call on Steele at midnight for the paper for next

morning, which he, having entirely neglected, then sat up in bed, and wrote in Mr Nutt's presence.

The fulness with which we have already, in our life of Swift, entered upon the political history of this generation, together with the consideration that we have far exceeded the space allotted to the period, must compel us to observe the greatest possible brevity in our notice of Steele's political career. Political controversy was then a principal path to literary eminence, and a ready open to preferment. The strife of parties, now carried on within the walls of parliament, or in the columns of the daily press, was then carried on by pamphlets, and in this war Steele was among the most distinguished. He was a stanch adherent to the whigs. His countryman, Swift, was his most formidable antagonist in the opposite party.

Immediately previous to the last parliament in the end of the reign of queen Anne, when the point of main interest was the underhand struggle, then in its fiercest height, between the adherents of the Stuarts and the settlement of the crown upon the electress of Hanover and her descendants, Steele wrote an elaborate pamphlet in support of the latter interest: it was called "the Crisis," and pointed in strong terms to the dangers and conspiracies against the protestant succession.* It called forth the resentment of Harley, and the occasion of vengeance was not slow to come. When the election of a new parliament drew nigh, he resigned his place of stamp commissioner, and was elected for the borough of Stockbridge.

The ministry resolved to unseat him, and that the matter might be brought in with the least impediment, the subject of his pamphlet was very distinctly, though in general terms, introduced in the queen's speech. In the mean time Steele did himself no good service: on the nomination of Sir T. Hanmer as speaker, he rose to second the motion, but became confused, and could only utter a few ill-selected words, which excited a sensation of ridicule in the house, and a cry of "*Tattler*" was raised. He sat down in his confusion; and it was remarked among the members, "It is not so easy a thing to speak in the house—he fancies because he can scribble, that he can speak."

As it was the object of the ministers to unseat him with the least possible delay, and as a petition, which was brought against his return, must have been very slow, it was thought a preferable course to propose the immediate consideration of that part of the speech which adverted to seditious libels. Mr Hungerford, a lawyer, who had been expelled the house for taking a bribe in king William's reign, was employed to call the attention of the house to Steele's pamphlet, and was followed by Mr Harley (the lord-treasurer's brother), and others. They first proposed proceeding at once to extremities, without allowing of any defence; it was then proposed to allow three days. Steele, however, showed some presence of mind and considerable address and

* It was answered by Swift; and it is remarkable that he also contrived in his answer, "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," very seriously to involve himself in the displeasure of the Scottish peerage, so that he escaped the consequences, with some difficulty, by the address of Mr Harley, and the fidelity of his printer—the account of this may be found in his memoir, vol. iv.

wit, and, by contriving to put the house in good humour, he obtained a week to prepare for his defence. In the mean time he displayed his spirit and indiscretion, by making an attack on the government.

The 18th of March, the day appointed for his defence, proved that he could speak before the house, and that with extraordinary ability and power, by a speech of three hours' duration. On this occasion he stood at the bar of the house, supported by Walpole and Stanhope on either side; his friend, Addison, sat near to assist and prompt him, and he made a defence alike remarkable for argument and wit. His enemies did not think it necessary to reply in detail, as they relied more on their ascertained majority in the house than upon any consideration of the justice of their charges. Mr Auditor Foley peremptorily alleged that the writings complained of were scandalous, and called for the question. Walpole rose and made one of his ablest speeches in behalf of Steele, and retorted on the tories with a force so tremendous, as must, for a moment, have made them regret having stirred so perilous a question; among other severe strokes, he said, "From what fatality does it arise, that what is written in favour of the Protestant succession, and what was countenanced by the late ministry, is deemed a libel by the present administration? General invectives in the pulpit against any particular sin have never been deemed a reflection on individuals, unless the darling sin of those persons happen to be the vice against which the preacher inveighs. It becomes, then, a fair inference from the irritability and resentment of the present administration against its defender, that their darling sin is to obstruct and prevent the Protestant succession."

This occasion was attended by another incident of great interest, which we cannot omit. Steele had formerly in one of his periodical papers refuted a scandalous libel against lady Charlotte Finch, daughter to lord Nottingham, and afterwards duchess of Somerset. Her brother, lord Finch, as yet a very young man, was at this time in parliament, and was naturally eager to repay such an important obligation, by standing up for the defender of his sister. He had, however, never yet addressed the house, and when he made the attempt he was, like Steele himself, overpowered by the embarrassment, better known than understood, which is so usual on such occasions; he became confused; and, deserted by his self-possession and clear command of thought, after a vain effort, he sat down. But while he was taking his seat, he said, in a voice loud enough to be heard, "It is strange I cannot speak for this man, though I could readily fight for him." This noble spirited exclamation communicated a momentary thrill of generous feeling to the house, and "hear him, hear him," resounded on every side. Lord Finch rose again, the chain of embarrassment was broken, and he delivered an able and eloquent speech. Lord Mahon observes that this "was the beginning of a public career, which, though not illustrious, was long useful and honourable."*

The result of the debate was unfavourable to Steele,—the tories carried the motion by a majority of 245 against 152, that the "*Englishman*" and "the *Crisis*" were scandalous libels; and that Mr Steele

* Hist. England, I.

be expelled the house. Steele soon after published a defence, which he dedicated to Walpole. Although we can have no doubt as to the substantial truth and justice of the imputations against the government, which are involved in these obnoxious writings of Steele, yet we must add, that, as a literary production, the merit of the *Crisis* seems to have been inconsiderable. Sir Walter Scott, in speaking of it says, "This treatise was brought forward with a degree of pomp and parade which its contents hardly warrant, being chiefly a digest of the acts of parliament respecting the succession, mixed with a few comments, of which the diction is neither eloquent, forcible, nor precise; while, by the extraordinary efforts made to obtain subscriptions, it was plain that the relief of the author's necessities was the principal object of the publication.*

We have already in our memoir of Swift adverted to the long and violent quarrel which was during this period raging between Swift and Steele. It was then our intention to bring it forward here in considerable detail, but, as matters stand, we are compelled to abandon this intention—the interest would not compensate the space lost. On Swift's part this conflict was carried on with all the fierce animosity and unrelenting rancour of his nature. He assailed the writings, the feelings, and the private life and reputation of Steele, with all the keen and searching malice of his unsparing satire. "It is to Steele's honour," says Scott, "that although he appears to have rushed hastily, and without due provocation, into the quarrel with Swift, he did not condescend to retort these personalities." Some letters which passed between Swift and Steele form the most interesting part of the quarrel—they will be found in the published collection of Swift's correspondence.

Among Steele's political writings on the main question, which, at the same date, occupied the public, was a pamphlet, entitled "The Romish Ecclesiastical History of Late Years"—of which the object is sufficiently expressed in the title.

The accession of George I. opened better prospects to Steele. He was appointed surveyor of the royal stables at Hampton Court, and was also knighted. He again entered parliament as member for Boroughbridge. His circumstances were considerably relieved by a share in the patent for Drury-lane theatre, from which he derived, it is said, considerable emolument until 1720. In 1717, he was appointed one of the commissioners of inquiry upon the estates forfeited in Scotland by the rebellion of 1715—the consequence was a visit to Scotland, where he was received with great courtesy and respect.

In 1719, an unhappy difference arose between him and Addison, owing to a pamphleteering controversy on the subject of a bill for the limitation of the peerage. The difference was soon made up, but there grew up between these eminent friends a degree of estrangement, which rather increased than diminished for the remainder of their lives; yet, without any formal breach, and perhaps also without very sensibly lessening the old friendship which had subsisted from their very schoolboy days. We think it worth observing, that strong

* Life of Swift, Ed. 1834, p. 161.

friendships contracted very early in life, while numerous points of the character yet remain undeveloped, must always be liable to the risk of such estrangements. The high and constant spirit, will, it is true, not easily resign a sentiment of honourable affection; but two minds may, through life, by the development of opposite peculiarities, so continue to grow asunder from each other, as to render intercourse constrained and painful, unless by fits of occasion, when differences are, for the moment, suppressed, and only recollections of better days are called up. And so it soon became between Addison and Steele —they gradually ceased to seek each other. But when they did chance to meet, they threw aside all jarring topics, and indulged in the fullest flow of mutual kindness and affection. Both, indeed, were men free from the darker shades of human gall. Steele had not that depth and tenacity which retain offence; and that levity of temper, which in him was the source of many faults, is the least consistent with any lasting sense of anger: Addison was in these respects widely different; but in him there was a nobility of spirit, which makes just allowance, and a christian temper of humility and charity, which is ready to bear and forbear. To one of Addison's fine taste and cautious temper, Steele's perpetual thoughtlessness must have been the cause of constant disquiet; while, at the same time, it exercised all his kindliness of nature in the endeavour to guard his friend against the consequences of his invincible indiscretion and extravagance. Of this many incredible anecdotes remain, which we do not think it necessary to collect. Some may be useful for the illustration of character they contain. Steele's habit of extravagant expense was his besetting infirmity; on the slightest acquisition of means, he rushed into such expenses as ten times the emolument could not support; indeed, his economy seems never to have looked beyond the present day. He had built an extravagant villa near London, where he continued to live for a time in the most lavish extravagance. Addison had wasted his utmost efforts to induce him to part with this ruinous establishment, but all in vain. At last Steele became deeply embarrassed, and applied to his friend for the loan of a thousand pounds. Addison, of course, saw at once that the repayment of such a sum would be impossible; but, on reflection, he also saw that the loan might enable him to force his friend from the destructive position in which he was pertinaciously fixed. He lent him the required sum for twelve months, on the security of the house and furniture. The money soon went; but, at the end of the year, Steele was as poor as in the beginning—there was no means of repayment, but by the sale of the obnoxious premises. This Addison enforced—and then explained his motives in a friendly letter to Steele, who received the explanation with candour, and there was no interruption to their friendship. It is mentioned that at a subsequent period Steele fitted up part of his house at York building as a theatre for recitations. One day, while visiting the work, he took it into his head to try how a voice would sound from a rostrum which was preparing for the purpose: accordingly, he desired the carpenter to mount and say something: the man got up; but, after scratching his head for a moment, could not think of anything to say. Steele desired that he should say whatever came uppermost: "Why here,"

spoke the carpenter, "we have been working for you these six months, and cannot get one penny of money. Pray, sir, when do you mean to pay us." "Very well, very well," interrupted Sir Richard, "pray come down, I've heard quite enough, I can't but own you speak very distinctly, though I don't much admire your subject."

On the accession of Mr Walpole to power, Steele was reinstated in the theatrical station, from which he had, according to his own account of the matter, been ejected by the private malice of the chamberlain. The influence of this happy circumstance gave new spirit to his dramatic talents, and he soon after produced the most successful of his comedies—the "Conscious Lovers"—which was received with the highest applause of the theatre; and, having published it with a dedication to the king, his majesty presented him with £500.

Steele was one of that not very uncommon order of persons, who cannot be permanently benefited by kindness—money to him was like water to a sieve. Few had, indeed, been more fortunate, if favourable circumstances could counterbalance the total want of prudence. In addition to the successes which attended his literary and political course, his first wife brought him a handsome fortune, which, with a little judicious management in the beginning, might alone have secured a respectable independence. This lady having died soon, he married his second wife, a lady possessed of an estate in Wales. Happily, this lady, or more probably her family, took the most necessary precaution to secure her property in her own hands; and to this alone, perhaps, he was indebted for a retreat in the last days of his life. He was greatly attached to his second wife, who appears to have deserved his love by kindness. Mutual discontents must have frequently interrupted their peace, as Steele's desperate and unreflecting extravagance was to be resisted by her prudence. She has been accused of parsimony; but we can have no hesitation in rejecting the imputation, too obviously the result of circumstances which made it her daily duty to resist the extreme and wilful folly of her spendthrift husband.

Sir Richard Steele would have spent his wife's patrimony with the same rapidity, and by the same ready channels which quickly carried away his own resources. He was not long in disencumbering himself of the royal bounty, of the profits of his play and theatre, and compelled to resign whatever estate he was in any way possessed of for the benefit of his creditors. He retired to Llanqunnor, in Carmarthenshire—the estate of his wife. There the short remainder of his life was spent.

In the solitude of retirement, and in the languor of impaired health, when ordinary men have rarely the courage or the reflection to survey the errors of past life, or to turn in search of the long neglected narrow path, which is the only refuge in the end, Steele's devotional temper, which had always maintained a place, in "spite of folly"—for he never sunk into vice—obtained the entire possession of his breast. He carried, happily, with him into retirement, the recollection, that though he had been led away by his vanity and his impetuous impulses, he had never attempted to justify folly at the expense of truth; but in his writings had strenuously and effectually vindicated the

supremacy of order, sound morality, and true religion. Men of ordinary ingenuity, when they follow an erroneous career, seldom fail to seek for peace and self-content, by some dexterous misrepresentation. Steele was too honest—he was quite incapable of guile, and he now experienced the reward. It pleased God to visit him with mercy in his retreat; and he there entered on a sternly sober course of sacred study and preparation, which excluded all other occupations.

For such an interval, no long pause was needful.—And we have to trace no long period between the world and the grave. He was seized with a paralytic affection, from which he recovered but partially—and soon after, died, on 21st September, 1729, and was privately interred in Carmarthen church.

Robert Molesworth, Viscount Molesworth.

BORN A.D. 1656.—DIED A.D. 1725.

THE Molesworth family anciently possessed rank and fortune in the counties of Bedford and Northampton; and are traced so far back as the reign of the first Edward, from whom their ancestor, Sir William de Molesworth, received knighthood in 1306, on the occasion when prince Edward was knighted. He had attended the king in his expedition to the Holy Land, and, at several times, received distinguished honours from him and his successor.

From a younger branch of his descendants in a direct line, came Robert, the father of the person here under our notice. In the rebellion of 1641, he came into Ireland as a captain in the regiment commanded by his elder brother. At the termination of the civil wars, he became an undertaker, and obtained 2500 acres of land in the county of Meath. He afterwards became a merchant in Dublin, and rose into great wealth and favour with the government. He died in 1656.

Four days after his father's death, in the same year, Robert Molesworth was born—the only son of his father.

He received his education in Dublin, and entered the university. He married early, probably in his twentieth year, a sister of the earl of Bellamont. In the struggle previous to the Revolution, he came forward early in support of the prince of Orange, for which his estates were seized by king James, under whose parliament he was attainted. He was, however, soon restored to his rights, by king William, who entertained a high esteem for him; and, soon after his accession to the throne, sent him as an envoy into Denmark.

At Denmark he fell into some disfavour with the Danish court. The circumstances are only known through the representations of an adversary; but they are probable, and may be substantially true. He is stated, by Dr King, on the authority of the Danish envoy, to have most unwarrantably trespassed on the royal privileges, by hunting in the royal preserves, and riding on the road exclusively appropriated to the king. In consequence of those freedoms, he was forbidden the court, and left the country without the ordinary form of an audience.

On his arrival in England, he wrote and published "An Account of Denmark." The book was written under the influence of resentment, and gave a very unfavourable account of the Danish government. It was, of course, highly resented by that court, and most especially by prince George, who was married to the English princess Anne, afterwards queen of England. A complaint was made to king William, by Scheele, the Danish envoy in London—he also supplied Dr King with materials for a reply—on the warrant of which we have the above particulars.

Molesworth's book became at once popular, and was the means of greatly extending his reputation, and raising him in the estimation of the most eminent literary characters of the day. He served in the Irish house of commons, for the borough of Swords. He was elected to a seat in the English parliament, for East Retford. He obtained a seat in the privy council, in the reign of queen Anne—but lost it in 1713, in the heat of party, in consequence of a complaint brought against him by the lower house of convocation, for some words of an insulting purport spoken by him in public. It is, however, easy to see that, in the fierce animosity of the tories then striving for existence, a stanch supporter of the house of Hanover had little chance of favour. The "Crisis," mentioned in the previous memoir, was partly written in defence of Molesworth.

At length the accession of George the first once more restored the Whigs to place and favour. Molesworth was again named as one of the Irish privy council, and a commissioner of trade and plantations.

In 1716, the king created him an Irish peer, under the titles of baron Philipstown and viscount Molesworth of Swords, by patent, dated 16th July, 1716. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, and took a prominent part in every concern which affected the welfare of his country, till the last two years of his life, when he withdrew from public affairs, and devoted his time to literary retirement.

He died 22d May, 1725, and was buried at Swords.

Besides his "Account of Denmark," he wrote several pieces of considerable ability, which had, in their day, the effect of exciting public attention, and awakening a useful spirit in Ireland.

In 1723, he published an address to the Irish house of commons for the encouragement of agriculture, and in 1719, a letter relative to the Irish peerage. He translated a political treatise of the civilian Hottoman, from the Latin, and this work reached a second edition, in 1721. His tracts were numerous, and were generally approved for their strong sense and plain force of style.

Charles Boyle, fourth Earl of Orrery.

BORN A.D. 1676.—DIED A.D. 1731.

THE subject of this memoir, Charles Boyle, second surviving son to the second earl of Orrery, and the lady Mary Sackville, second daughter to the earl of Dorset, was born in 1676. He received his education in English schools; from which he became a student in

Christ Church, Oxford, under the tuition of the celebrated Atterbury and the Rev. Dr Friend. He possessed that industrious energy of temperament which had distinguished many of his race, and applied himself to study with a devotion which injured his health. His industry was repaid by the acquisition of a very high academic reputation, and the more substantial attainment of such knowledge as the studies then pursued in his university were likely to impart. Dr Aldrich, the head of his college, formed a very high opinion of his merits, and dedicated to him his "Compendium of Logic," in which he calls him, "*Magnum ædis nostræ ornamentum.*" Mr Boyle's literary ambition seems to have been strongly excited while yet a student. He translated the life of Lysander from Plutarch, and published it. This was probably undertaken at the suggestion of Aldrich, who presently after set him upon a task of far more doubtful result—an edition of the "Epistles of Phalaris."

Boyle readily entered upon the work, and translated the epistles into Latin, which he published with the Greek text. Toward the end of his Latin preface, he dropped an unlucky sentence, in which he accused the librarian, who was no less a person than Dr Bentley, of unpolitely withholding from him the manuscript. Bentley wrote a letter in explanation, in which he denied the imputation of having withheld the manuscript. The truth appears to be, that the bookseller who had been employed to collate the manuscript in St James' library with that in Oxford, neglected the task, and excused himself by a falsehood. But to this person Bentley had expressed his opinion that the letters were spurious; and this being conveyed to Boyle, he felt offended, and gave way to the natural petulance of his temper. He replied, "that what Mr Bentley said might be true, but that the bookseller had represented the matter quite otherwise;" and ended by a very unwarrantable defiance, telling Bentley that "he might seek redress in what way he pleased."

The matter might have stopped here; but another train of incidents took place at nearly the same time, which led to that subsequent collision, so celebrated in literary history. Sir William Temple, in one of his essays, had cited the epistles of Phalaris and the fables of Æsop, as instances of the superiority of ancient literature. We shall extract the whole of Temple's observation, as it will be the best introduction to the controversy.—"It may, perhaps, be further affirmed, in favour of the ancients, that the oldest books we have are still, in their kind, the best. The two most ancient that I know, in prose, among those we call profane authors, are Æsop's fables and Phalaris' epistles, both living near the same time—which was that of Cyrus and Pythagoras. As the first has been agreed by all ages since, for the greatest master in his kind, and all others of that sort have been but imitations of his original—so I think the epistles of Phalaris to have more race, more spirit, more force of wit and genius, than any others I have ever seen, either ancient or modern. I know several learned men—or that usually pass for such, under the name of critics—have not esteemed them genuine; and Politian, with some others, have attributed them to Lucian; but I think he must have little skill in painting, that cannot find this out to be an original.—Such diversity of passions upon

such variety of actions and passages of life and government, such freedom of thought, such boldness of expression, such bounty to his friends, such scorn to his enemies, such honour of learned men, such esteem of good, such knowledge of life, such contempt of death, with such fierceness of nature, and cruelty of revenge, could never be represented but by him that possessed them; and I esteem Lucian to have been no more capable of writing, than of acting what Phalaris did. In all one writ, you find the scholar or the sophist; and in all the other, the tyrant and the commander!"* His essay was answered by Wotton's "Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning." While engaged in this essay, Wotton was assured by Bentley that the two examples on which Temple relied were both spurious; on which Bentley was pressed to write his opinions, as an appendix to the projected essay. Bentley assented, but delayed; and the essay came out without his argument. On the publication of the second edition, the importunity of Wotton prevailed; and Bentley, still reluctant to come into collision with the editors of the Oxford edition of the epistles, at last consented, and his dissertation appeared—making good the points of his previous affirmation. Having asserted and explained the habits of forgery—to which the ancients, during many centuries, had been notoriously addicted—he attacked the genuineness of the epistles of Phalaris, on the grounds of their chronology, style, substance, and the date of their first appearance. Having fixed the lowest possible limit for the age of Phalaris, he showed that they contained numerous references to events long subsequent to the death of Phalaris.† He also pointed out that the style was not that of the Dorian prince—being Attic, and not even the Attic style of the age of Phalaris—with other arguments of similar force. With less truth he attacks the letters, as inconsistent with the character of Phalaris; and, lastly, shows the high improbability of their having lain unknown for upwards of a thousand years, until the time of Lucian. He then enters into a vindication of his own conduct from Mr Boyle's aspersion; and concludes by alleging that the version which had recently appeared was full of faults, and hinting that it was not Mr Boyle's own work. Bentley's dissertation was fully sufficient to set the question at rest, and was at once received by all distinguished scholars as a model of skill and learning. Mr Boyle and his literary allies had, however, the felicity attributed by Goldsmith to the village pedant, for, "e'en tho' vanquished he could argue still." A junto of clever heads joined their contributions of wit and erudition to produce a reply, and demolish Bentley. Boyle was aided by Atterbury, Smalridge, the Friends, and others; and the discharge of their combined

* Temple's Essays, vol. ii. p. 84. Lond. 1821.

† We presume that the generality of our readers are sufficiently conversant with the most common incidents of ancient history, to recollect the history of Phalaris, whose supposed epistles were the occasion of this celebrated controversy. He is mentioned as a Cretan, who was banished for an attempt to usurp the government of his native city; and, having fled to Sicily, he contrived to usurp that of Agrigentum. He was famous for his cruelty and talent; and is familiarly recollected by the story of Perillus and the brazen bull which he invented for the torture of criminals, and presented to Phalaris, who tried its effect upon the contriver.

ability was launched again at the librarian's devoted head, in a dissertation entitled, "Dr Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop, examined, by the Honourable Charles Boyle, Esq." That a composition of the leading wits of Oxford should contain marks of its varied and fertile soil, is but a matter of course; nor is it less so, that it should be hailed with acclamation by the crowd, who may be always found in the train of popular talents and of aristocratic pretensions. This reply was at once received with general applause; and this seemed confirmed by numerous clever productions, which appeared to swell the triumph of the Oxonians.—Among these appeared Swift's "Battle of the Books." There are more who understand ingenuity, wit, and expertness, and feel the force of satire, than there are who can appreciate the merits of an argument, or weigh the value of a statement—so that there was a current of popular opinion against Bentley; and his adversaries indulged in a triumph which must have added to the mortification of their subsequent discomfiture. In the commencement, however, of the following year (1699), there came out the "Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris, with an Answer to the Objections of the Honourable Charles Boyle, by Richard Bentley, D.D."—which silenced the chattering train, and placed Bentley at the height of his immortal reputation, as a writer and scholar of the first order.

Mr Boyle's next production was a comedy, which we have not read; but it is described by Budgel, as "having too much wit." He also wrote some copies of verses, at nearly the same time; one of which is addressed to Garth, on his "Dispensary"—a poem in which a ludicrous compliment is paid to himself:

> "So diamonds take a lustre from their foil,
> And to a Bentley 'tis we owe a Boyle,"—

An unlucky suggestion—which justice will retort on the person so untruly flattered. But there then existed a sense of deferential and adulatory reverence towards rank which has since given way before the advance of the equalizing influences of civilization. The aristocracy of England, now, perhaps, exalted in the scale of sterling respectability, have been long shorn of the illusory rays which were derived from the mere servility of a ruder time.

On leaving Oxford, Mr Boyle entered parliament as member for Huntingdon. The rival candidate lodged a petition against his return; and the speech made on the occasion by Mr Boyle, occasioned a duel between him and the petitioner. "They fought," writes Budgel," in a gravel-pit, near the gate which now leads to Grosvenor Square. Mr Boyle received several wounds himself before he hurt his adversary; but, at last, making a resolute thrust, he wounded Mr W——ly in such a manner, a little above the thigh, as made that gentleman desire the contest might proceed no farther. Mr Boyle granted his request; but had like to have died of the several wounds he received, and languished under them in a tedious fit of sickness for many months after the duel."

In 1703, his brother Lionel having died without issue, he succeeded to the title, and shortly after married the lady Elizabeth Cecil, daughter

to the earl of Exeter. In 1703, he was appointed colonel of a regiment of foot. On queen Anne's restoration of the order of the Thistle, in 1705, he was elected a knight of that order.

In 1709, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general, and immediately after, in the next year, to that of major-general. In 1710, he was sent as British envoy to Flanders, and to the council of state in the Spanish Low Countries, with an allowance of £10 a-day. In 1712, he served under the duke of Ormond in Flanders, and was present in the battle of Taniers, in which he distinguished himself at the head of his own regiment. He was sworn on her majesty's privy council, and raised to the British peerage soon after his return, by the title of Baron Boyle of Marston.

In the subsequent reign he was successively honoured with various appointments which may be found enumerated by Lodge; but must be here omitted.

On the accession of George I., lord Orrery's reputation, and the caution which he had always preserved in his intercourse with public men, preserved him in favour for a time; and it seems apparent that he might, without difficulty, have made good his footing by pursuing a steady and consistent course. But, though both clever, dexterous, and accomplished, lord Orrery was not either sagacious or profound. He over-rated his talent and importance; and, having manners which attracted flattery, he allowed himself to be flattered into presumption. At a time when dangerous plots were apprehended, and suspicion was ever on the watch to fasten on doubtful conduct, he affected a tone of honest independence for which no sagacious observer was likely to give him credit. But in fact, as shall presently appear, he was closely watched, and thoroughly understood. This is the true interpretation of his friend Budgel's account of his loss of favour by an unwillingness to fall in with the "violent humour of those times." He evidently endeavoured to trim dexterously. Several of those with whom he was in the habit of acting lost their places, but he for a time preserved his own. He voted much with ministers, and wrote a letter to the king to excuse himself for not voting always with them; and offered, if required, to resign all his posts.

The consequences soon began to appear. The king went to Hanover soon after, and while he was there, lord Orrery's regiment was taken from him—on this he resigned his court office of lord of the bedchamber. After which he remained, for some years, in a state of comparative privacy, to which his aspiring and over-active temper could ill be reconciled. This continued from this time, in 1716, till the year 1722. During the interval, we have met with no very detailed account of his lordship, though he is occasionally to be traced in Ireland, where he filled a gap in the circle which revolved around the central light of Swift. In Ireland this was a distinction; but to one of lord Orrery's habits and intercourse with the great world, it was accompanied by humiliating circumstances. He could not bear to be a satellite; yet it was only on such terms he could enjoy the privilege of taking his station in the court of wit. He is thought by Scott to have resented the self-imposed mortification—and the inconsistency is at least natural. It is the character of vanity to study ap-

pearance at the sacrifice of reality, and purchase flattery with humiliation. He treated the Dean's memory with a severity, which, though in our estimation by no means unjust, yet comes with a bad grace from one who had been exalted by his notice, and played the courtier's part for his favour.

In the meantime, the company he kept, and the small party to which he really belonged, were chiefly composed of the remains of that extreme party which, towards the close of queen Anne's reign, had kept up a dangerous correspondence with the pretender, which ended in their disgrace. For some time previous to that on which we now enter, their hopes had been revived by the birth of an heir to the pretender, Charles Edward, who was born at Rome in 1720. A correspondence was renewed by this party, and an active plot organized, at the head of which was the earl of Orrery, and the earl of Arran, with other peers and gentlemen, of whom the most known was the celebrated Atterbury, who had been one of Orrery's tutors in Oxford. This accounts more satisfactorily for the disfavour of the earl at court; as it is known that the earl of Sunderland kept an active correspondence with the pretender and his adherents, with the private sanction of king George, to whom all their proceedings were thus exposed. Sunderland died early in 1722; and about the same time the conspiracy began to grow more serious. The clue, however, to their proceedings seems to have been lost; for it was in the mouth of many, when the king was preparing to visit his German dominions, that the English minister received a warning from the regent of France, of a conspiracy against the throne. To this was attached a condition, that no one should be put to death. Walpole's intelligence, thus put on the alert, soon unravelled the state of affairs, and found that the pretender was in motion, and that the duke of Ormonde was preparing to take charge of a descent from the coast of Biscay. We cannot here enter into a detailed account; but, among other steps, lord Orrery and the duke of Norfolk were sent to the Tower. The earl was taken into custody on the 27th September, at his country-house, by a party of soldiers, commanded by a colonel, and accompanied by one of the under-secretaries. A thorough search for papers was made, and all his lordship's letters and papers of every description were thrown into a large sack. At the same time, his town house underwent a similar search, and seizure of papers. His nearest friends were denied access to his confinement, and even his son, who entreated to be shut up with him, was refused.

The earl's sufferings were severe; for his health had, for many years, been in an extreme state of delicacy, and had been kept up solely by constant air and exercise. On the 9th of October, the parliament passed a bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act for one year. It was proposed and agreed to, to detain the earl by virtue of this suspension. He soon fell sick, and his physician, Dr Mead, went to the council, and urged that his life was endangered, and he was, in consequence, admitted to bail. Two noblemen went security for him, in £20,000 each. His liberation was, nevertheless, imperfect, as he was only allowed to remain in his country-house, under the custody of two officers, in whose company he was allowed to take the air. The authority upon which we are chiefly compelled to rely in all that

merely relates to the private history of the earl, is rendered so very doubtful, by a great deal of very obvious folly and misrepresentation, that we shall not enter fully into a variety of minute statements which have too much the air of the clumsy fabrications of an apologist, half deceived and willing to deceive. Budgel received his accounts from the lips of the earl—against whom it is no very serious imputation that he did not unfold circumstances of so questionable a nature, with severe precision, to so shallow a creature.

His lordship obtained his freedom, and continued to attend in the house of lords. He seldom or never spoke; but often joined in protests, and always voted against the government.

His lordship died in 1731, in his fifty-seventh year. Among his accomplishments, the most distinguished was his knowledge of mechanics. Budgel claims for him the invention of that astronomical toy which bears his name; and the manner in which he mentions it makes it plain that lord Orrery was himself his authority. But we rather suspect that his lordship, whose vanity was a besetting infirmity, rather countenanced the mistake than directly asserted such a claim. Budgel says, "The instrument which was invented by him, and bears his name, is an undeniable proof of his mechanic genius. There are so many different motions in this machine, that I have heard his lordship say, it had almost turned the head of that ingenious artificer whom he had employed to make it." We may venture to say, that the "different motions," which nearly "turned the head" of George Graham, are not to be referred to the contrivance of any other brains. The conception involves no very great difficulty, or indeed, any very extraordinary powers of contrivance. There is, however, nothing improbable in the supposition, that the thoughts of such a machine might have originated with his lordship, or, indeed, with any one. He might have proposed to Graham to contrive a machine to represent the motions of the solar system, but even this is negatived by the known facts.

Graham, the inventor of the Orrery, was perhaps not acquainted with the earl, for whom one was constructed by Rawley. The name of "Orrery" was given to it by the error of Sir Richard Steele, who was very probably imposed on by a conversation similar to that related by Budgel. Graham's discoveries and inventions are numerous and important. He was a member of the Royal Society, and abundant records of his astronomical talents and knowledge may be found in the "Philosophical Transactions." He was the constructor of the great mural arch in Greenwich Observatory. Indeed, the whole story is too absurd.

One more circumstance we have reserved for this place. His lordship left his splendid library to Oxford, to the great annoyance of his son; and Budgel, who seems to have thought that his regard for the honour of his former patron was sufficient excuse for the most unnecessary and self-exposing mis-statements, cannot dismiss this slight circumstance without an insinuation. We shall take his entire statement:—"But there is one article in his will, which, as it has made some noise in the world, deserves to be explained: what I shall say upon this head is, to my own certain knowledge, *matter of fact.* The

late lord Orrery has bequeathed to Christ Church College, in Oxford, of which he was formerly a member, all his noble library, save only the journals of the house of lords, and such books as relate to the English history and constitution, which are left to the present earl, his son, who is likewise allowed the term of two years to separate *these* from the other books. The world has been not a little surprised, to find that the late earl of Orrery should leave the bulk of that library he had collected with so much pains and expense, from such a son, who all who have the happiness to know him do very well know, is not only learned, but a real lover of learning and men of letters. In order to explain this mystery, it is proper the public should be informed, that the late lord Orrery's will was made about four years since, at a time when there was an unhappy coldness occasioned by a family dispute between the late earl of Orrery and the present earl of Orkney, soon after the son of the first had married the daughter of the latter. Perhaps neither of these two noble lords were wholly in the wrong." If the statement of Johnson be true—and there is no reason to doubt it—the cause of the quarrel, which should not have been hinted at by a biographer who did not think it fit to state the whole, was simply that the young lord "would not allow his young wife to keep company with his father's mistress." It is unnecessary to say where the wrong lay. The father and son are said to have been reconciled, and that the earl intended to alter his will, but was prevented by death.

Turlough Carolan.

BORN A.D. 1670.—DIED A.D. 1738.

CAROLAN was the son of a farmer in the village of Hobber, in the county of Westmeath. His father possessed but a few acres, and was not therefore enabled to afford him the advantages of education, nor was his condition in life such as to have pointed out any of the paths of studious pursuit. He might, in all probability, have been destined to the less brilliant, but not less happy or respectable avocations of his father, and lived in industrious but fortunate obscurity, in his little farm; but the accident which appeared to cut him off from the busy haunts of men, and consign him to the lowest state of helpless inutility, seems to have been the means of calling his extraordinary genius into life. While yet an infant, the small-pox deprived him of his eyesight; and his mind, shut in and bereaved of one great field of exertion, transferred itself with the more wholeness to another, or, as he himself was afterwards heard to say, "My eyes are transplanted into my ears." He was too young to appreciate, in its full extent, the deprivation, and if he wasted any very serious thought upon it, he was, from his disposition, far more likely to measure it by the gifts and immunities, the leisure and the song, than by its privations. His astonishing musical powers were quickly noticed; and it may be generally observed, that musical talent, where it exists, is the first to be developed, as the faculties which are more nearly allied to pure intel-

lect are the latest in their order. Carolan's genius was of the highest order, and it soon attracted extensive curiosity, and many liberal friends and patrons, who contributed to its cultivation. A harp and master were procured, and he was quickly enabled to follow the dictates of his fancy and his ear. These were, indeed, but uncultured still; for, with the wilfulness which belongs to internal impulse—the waywardness of genius—he soon became impatient of the dull discipline which is so essential to any perfection. With him the originating power, so rare in every department of human pursuit, was overflowing; he truly "lisped in numbers."

He grew in melody as he grew in years, and those tender impressions of passion which nature has so deeply woven with the gifts of verse and song, began to expand in his bosom, and form part of an existence which had so small a sphere to dwell in. To fall in love, was with Carolan a matter of course; though his ideas of beauty—as it is for the most part derived from the sense of which he was not possessed—must have been wholly wanting, or but dimly reflected from the recollections of infancy. The blind alone can tell how fancy can dress out its rayless and formless vision of delight. Miss Bridget Cruise may have had a plain face, and a graceless figure; but we may assume that she was possessed of an enchanting voice: the child of song probably felt with intense reality the power of a loveliness imbodied in sound—a voice replete with soft and pleasant associations played over his breast, when Miss Cruise was near. We know that his passion found its only consolation in an immortal melody which bears the lady's name, and perhaps the image of her lover's dream. It is said that Miss Cruise was not insensible to the passion of her blind lover; but it may be presumed, that every voice, and all the little prejudices of village pride, would deter her from listening to any serious proposal from a blind youth. Every one understands how the fancy will work upon the report of rumour or fame; to such an influence the blind must be unusually liable, and this easily leads to the supposition that Miss Cruise may have been the object of general admiration; and, from such a thought, a little romance of pleased vanity, amiable condescension and wounded affection, is but too ready to start unbidden. But these fancies have no end.

Carolan had the good sense to seek for consolation from the affection of Miss Mary Maguire, with whom one of his biographers has informed us that he lived "harmoniously," though she was remarkable for extravagance and pride: Carolan himself was a devotee to whiskey; so that we may venture to apprehend that the harmony may have been rather of the loudest. He took a farm at Mosshill, in Leitrim, and launched into a course of reckless and prodigal hospitality, which was both the bent of his nature, and the fashion of his time. The Irish of that day were addicted to extravagance in a degree incredible in this sober and trading age of teetotalism and railroads—the only pledges, then, were pledges over the punch-bowl,—the best kept road was the road to ruin, and a merrier or more crowded way was never known; and on such, Carolan was not likely to be wanting.

After a little time, we find him an itinerant musician. Of this pro-

fession we have already offered some description,* and shall hereafter add some further remarks. The state of society in Ireland, at that time, was favourable to the tuneful peregrination of the harper. The spirit of old nationality—the rude hospitality—the simple enjoyments, and the remains of those elder prejudices, customs, and opinions that dwelt in the recollections and manners of ancestral times, all favoured, as indeed they strictly comprehended the harper. To those who cared for music—and they were few who did not—his music was far the best; to the rich and proud, he was a part of state; to the retired and simple, his visit was a mission of joy and cheerfulness, a glad event to the young, and full of interest for every class. In that period, when the means of intelligence were far less; before intelligence began to travel on improved systems of roads and conveyances—while the progress of things was yet comparatively slow—an intelligent visitor, who, like the harper, went his stated rounds from hall to hospitable hall, and had for years been contracting kindness and love, in a wide circle of families—most of whom were united in the bonds of kindness—had many kindly things to say, and many reports of deep interest: he was not merely a bearer of mirth and harmony, but of recollections, traditions, and provincial gossip. If he was a man of genius, character and feeling—he gradually accumulated a store of wisdom, wit, humour, local and personal knowledge, which must have given interest and importance to his visit. All this is true for the whole class of travelling harpers, which was not limited to the few whose names are yet remembered. But among these, a few were pre-eminently distinguished for their genius, and the great superiority of their manners and general acquirements. Of such, none stood higher than Carolan; and his biographers relate that he was universally received with distinguishing marks of honour and respect. Of particular incidents we have not many; but it is mentioned that whenever he was satisfied with the hospitality which he had found, it was his custom to repay the kindness of his entertainers with an air composed in their honour, or that of some member of the family. It was in this manner that most of his music was composed. The following extract may help to convey some more distinct notion of his singular powers in his own art. "The fame of Carolan having reached the ears of an eminent Italian music-master in Dublin, he put his abilities to a severe test; and the issue of the trial confirmed him how well founded everything had been, which was advanced in favour of our Irish bard. The method he made use of was, as follows: he singled out an excellent piece of music, and highly in the style of the country which gave him birth—here and there he either altered, or mutilated the piece; but in such a manner, as that no one but a real judge could make a discovery. Carolan bestowed the deepest attention upon the performer while he played it, not knowing however that it was intended as a trial of his skill; and that the critical moment was at hand, which was to determine his reputation for ever. He declared it was an admirable piece of music; but, to the astonishment of all present, said very humorously, in his own language, "*ta se air chois air bacaighe;*" that is, here and

* Vol. iv. p. 374, *et seq.*

there it limps and stumbles. He was prayed to rectify the errors, which he accordingly did. In this state, the piece was sent from Connaught to Dublin; and the Italian no sooner saw the amendments, than he pronounced Carolan to be a true musical genius."

Among the vices of Carolan's generation, there was one which was most likely to have a fatal effect upon one whose profession was in a considerable measure the essential creature of boon fellowship and hospitable profusion—it was the characteristic custom of drunkenness, which tinges the very poetry and sentiment of that day. The bottle, and the jorum, and the sparkling bowl, were words invested with a lyric power, insomuch that when the custom of hard drinking had long begun to diminish in refined society, still poetry continued to shed its charm around those images which have now become appropriately transferred to the alehouse. Long after the days of our harper, "the last of the bards," it was a customary part of hospitality to lock the door, in order to leave no escape for "the ass who refuses his glass." Nor are we without some old recollections of the last generation, which come faintly from afar with jovial echoes upon memory's ear. Some good pictures have been given in the name of Sir J. Barrington of the *general* truth of which we have no doubt. Griffin's novel "The Collegians," contains some rich toned paintings of the same "good old days," which for nature and truth may well be called historical. These allusions will recall much to the reader's mind of the true spirit of those days, in which it was not easy for a minstrel to be sober; and hard drinking was the disease and the inspiration of Carolan: his love of whiskey was the love of a lover,—it was the theme of his most successful strain, and he is said always to have composed his music with a bottle and a glass at his elbow. His physicians assured him at last, that he could not live much longer, unless he gave up drinking. Carolan resolved to comply, and continued for some time to maintain that difficult determination. His spirits became depressed, and he wandered in dejection round the town of Boyle, in which he had for some time dwelt. But the practice had been carried too far, and the want of stimulus had become a constitutional disease; temptations too occurred, and his firmness, after a time, gave way. Among the tales told of Carolan, there is one which, though seemingly absurd, is in reality intensely natural, and a curious instance of the frailness of human virtue, entering into the compromise that can end but seldom in any way but one. He was walking by the grocer's door, when a genial gale from within brought back the fond association, and the vision of whiskey "came upon the soul of Ossian." He entered perhaps without a will,—for a moment the temptation was strong; but prudence and some degree of shame came to his aid, and after a moment's struggle, he addressed the lad behind the counter, "Well, my dear friend, you see I am a man of constancy,—for six long weeks I have refrained from whiskey, was there ever so great an instance of self-denial? But a thought strikes me, and surely you will not be cruel enough to refuse one gratification which I shall earnestly solicit. Bring hither a measure of my favourite liquor, which I shall smell to, but indeed shall not taste." The story goes, that on receiving the grateful fume, his spirit rallied for a moment, and he poured forth his rapture in a vein

of bacchanalian wit, which was worthy of poor Yorick. The tale is, as we have observed, characteristic; though some allowance is to be made for the finical language in which the relater has thought proper to tell it; nor are we sure of the judgment of the grocer's apprentice, who was perhaps the sole witness, in matters of wit.

Such experiments were perhaps often repeated, and the passage from the nostril to the lip—not very long—may have soon afforded an easy example of Napoleon's famous adage, about passing "from the sublime to the ridiculous." The minstrel soon drowned his virtue and fished up his gay spirits in the congenial fountain, and the "measure of his favourite liquor" ceased to pass back as it came to the critic behind the counter. Carolan quickly relapsed into the old habit, and while it renewed its insidious effects upon his health, he regained his wonted powers of minstrelsy. It was perhaps shortly after the foregoing incident, that he composed the famous piece, so well known to every Irish ear, "Carolan's receipt." He composed it with words which have not had so much vitality as his music; they were (we understand) on the praise of whiskey. He was at that time on one of his periodical visits to Mr Stafford at Elphin.

In 1733, he lost his wife to whom he was greatly attached, and the loss affected his spirits deeply for a considerable time; it afforded a subject for his poetic powers, which are said to have been of no inferior order. He was at the time in his sixty-third year, and considerably broken in his frame.

His death happened a few years after, while he was staying at Mrs M'Dermott's of Alderford, in the county of Roscommon. Of his death, several traditionary accounts remain—we shall here give that of his countryman Goldsmith. "His death was not more remarkable than his life. Homer was never more fond of a glass than he. He would drink whole pints of usquebaugh, and as he used to think, without any ill consequence. His intemperance, however, in this respect, at length brought on an incurable disorder; and when just at the point of death, he called for a cup of his beloved liquor. Those who were standing round him, surprised at the demand, endeavoured to persuade him to the contrary, but he persisted; and when the bowl was brought him, attempted to drink but could not; wherefore, giving away the bowl, he observed with a smile, that it would be hard if two such friends, as he and the cup, should part, at least without kissing, and then expired."

Thomas Southern.

BORN A. D. 1659—DIED A. D. 1746.

SOUTHERN was born in Dublin in 1659, and entered the Dublin University in 1676. He did not continue his academical studies for more than a year, when he quitted Ireland, and went to study law in London. The temper of mind which was impatient of the studies of the University, was not likely to be fixed by the severer attractions of

special pleading. Southern soon turned aside to dally with the lighter muse.

In 1682, the "Persian Prince," his earliest dramatic production, was acted. One of the principal persons of this drama was designed as a compliment to the duke of York, from whom he received a gratuity in return. After the accession of this prince to the throne, Southern obtained an ensigncy in the regiment of earl Ferrers, and served in Monmouth's rebellion. After this was terminated by the capture of that ill-fated nobleman, Southern seems to have left the army and given himself wholly to dramatic composition. He is mentioned as having acquired more money by his plays than any writer up to his time, and to have been the first to obtain a second and third night of representation for the author of a successful play. He also received sums till then unknown for his copyright, and gave larger prices for prologues. Pope notices this, in his lines addressed to Southern, with which we shall close this notice. Dryden having once asked him how much he got by a play—was answered, £700; while, by Dryden's comment on the circumstance, it appears that he had himself never obtained more than £100. This we are more inclined to attribute to the address and prudence of Southern, and to other causes of a more general nature than to any superiority of dramatic power. Any comparison between the two would, indeed, be too absurd; but there is, nevertheless, an important consideration which we can here do no more than merely state. It cannot but be felt—and in later times it has become far too plain to be overlooked—that the acting success of a drama is no criterion of the genius of the writer, or of the intellectual qualities employed in its composition. Considerable talent there, indeed, must be, to secure success; but then it is mainly of that kind which is generally understood by the term *artistic*, and having the nature of skill rather than genius. We are the less desirous to pursue this point, because, in recent times, it has become too plain to be missed by any one. Indeed, some of the most thoroughly successful stageplays of the present generation, indicate to a reader no talent save in the very lowest degree—neither plot, character, passion, sentiment, nor the least power of exciting the smallest interest, unless in strict reference to mere stage effect. The principle appears to be, that it requires little power to awaken human sympathies with present and visible action and scene. Dramatic skill has improved upon the maxim of the Roman critic:—

> Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
> Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus, quæque
> Ipse sibi tradit spectator.

The commonest incident, or most ordinary affection of humanity, actually presented to the eye, has on the crowd a more thoroughly awakening and attractive effect, than the noblest conceptions of genius, or the most refined and delicate traits of sentiment or character. In these remarks, we should regret much to be understood to depreciate the consummate art which, in modern fiction—for so far our remark

may be easily extended—renders the very lowest degree of intellectual power available.

Southern who has, perhaps, the honour to be the great founder of this our modern school of dramatic production, seems also to have manifested a proportional command of those subordinate talents which have since so much contributed to its success. By the address and dexterity with which he practised the art of disposing of his tickets to the best advantage, he contributed, at the same time, to the success and to the produce of his dramas.

Notwithstanding these remarks, it must be admitted that Southern is, in no small degree, to be exempted from the depreciating estimate which they may be thought to imply. It was long before the stage had reached its full command over the elements of poverty, dryness, and triteness of incident, and attained the maximum of stage effect. Southern has no great power of any kind; but it is evident that to the cultivation of this great end, he adds considerable knowledge of the passions and some poetry. It may also be favourably noticed, that he showed much good taste in freeing the drama from the extravagance and impurity of the day in which he wrote. He was highly thought of by Dryden; Gray also, a far superior critic, praises his pathetic powers. It ought, however, to be a qualification of this praise, that his success was greatly to be attributed to the skill with which he seized on real incidents, which could not, by any clumsiness of treatment, be deprived of their affecting interest. The story of Oroonoko was true, almost to its minutest details. If read under this impression, the reader will see that Southern has not done much; and this is, probably his chief production. The story was first told in a novel by Mrs Behn—who had resided at the scene, been acquainted with the parties, and witnessed the incidents and the catastrophe.

Southern lived to his eighty-fifth year. He lived the latter years of his life in Tothill Street, Westminster, and was remarked to be a constant attendant at the cathedral service. Prior to this he had resided near Covent Garden; and is described by Mr Oldys as a person of grave and venerable exterior, dressed in black, "with his silver sword and silver locks;" and the following notice occurs among Gray's letters to Horace Walpole—"We have old Mr Southern at a gentleman's house, a little way off, who often comes to see us. He is now seventy-seven years old, and has almost wholly lost his memory; but is as agreeable an old man as can be—at least I persuade myself so, when I look at him and think of Isabella and Oroonoko." Dryden appears to have placed him on the same rank with Otway, and is said to have employed him to finish his own tragedy of Cleomenes. The following are Pope's lines to Southern, on his birth-day in 1742.

Resigned to live—prepared to die,
With not one sin, but poetry,
This day Tom's fair account has run
Without a blot to eighty-one.
Kind Boyle before his poet lays
A table with a cloth of bays;
And Ireland, mother of sweet singers,
Presents her harp still to his fingers.

The feast his tow'ring genius marks
In yonder wild-goose and the larks!
The mushrooms show his wit was sudden,
And for his judgment, lo, a pudden!
Roast beef, though old, proclaims him stout,
And grace, although a bard, devout.
May Tom, whom Heav'n sent down to raise
The price of prologues and of plays,
Be every birth-day more a winner,
Digest his thirty thousandth dinner;
Walk to his grave without reproach,
And scorn a rascal and a coach.

It is rather curious to observe how nearly Pope's allotment of dinners approaches to the actual number of Southern's days, at the very birth-day which he celebrates. This, with the known minute love of precision which was characteristic of Pope, suggests the idea of a calculation and an oversight. In endeavouring to be precise, the poet forgot that he was setting a very near limit to the days he thus numbered. Southern lived till 1746—four years longer.

Francis Hutcheson.

BORN A.D. 1694.—DIED A.D. 1747.

HUTCHESON, whose name holds an eminent place in the history of metaphysical philosophy, was the son of a presbyterian minister in the north of Ireland. The precise place of his birth is not mentioned; but he was born, 8th August, 1694. It is said that he displayed early indications of extraordinary intellectual power; and having been first sent to school, somewhere in his native country, where he completed so much of his education as is usually attained in schools—he was, in his sixteenth year, sent to the university of Glasgow, which was mostly preferred to our own university by the Irish dissenters.

In Glasgow he entered upon an assiduous course of study, and made in most branches of human knowledge then pursued, a proficiency suited to his talents, and to the character which he afterwards obtained. Having selected the ministerial profession, he more especially directed his attention to theological studies.

Having thus completed his university career, and mastered a varied and comprehensive course of reading, he returned to his native country; and, after undergoing the ordinary examinations, was admitted as a preacher by the presbyterians. This arrangement was not, however, carried into complete effect, when it was interrupted by an earnest invitation from several persons to whom his talent and acquirements were known, to set up an academy near Dublin. There his success was immediate and very great, but the reputation soon acquired by his first-rate powers was greater still. Ordinary talents are not easily distinguished and require the aid of much industry, address, and prudence, to place them in the light; and for one who becomes eminent, twenty at least of equal pretensions fail: but, men like Hutcheson, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, will soon be observed and dis-

tinguished—in every circle there is some clear-sighted eye; and minds of his class once fairly launched will soon emerge from vulgar competition. Hutcheson had only to come within the observation of Molesworth, Synge, and King, to obtain the allowance and stamp of intellectual station. From the two first-named eminent writers, lord Molesworth, and Dr Synge, bishop of Elphin, he received encouragement and counsel in the publication of his first work, "An Inquiry into the Ideas of Beauty and Virtue." This work, published anonymously, introduced him to lord Granville, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland at the time. When this nobleman had read the essay, he was so pleased with it that he sent to the bookseller desiring to be informed of the author's name. The bookseller did not comply, and was then intrusted with a letter for the author, desiring his acquaintance. Hutcheson availed himself of this flattering incident, and was always afterward received with high distinction by that nobleman.

A still more gratifying, as well as advantageous, consequence was the friendship of archbishop King. To the active friendship of this illustrious prelate, he was indebted for two escapes from prosecutions, which have been called, and perhaps truly, malicious, in the archbishop's court, for setting up a school without subscription to the canons and for not having obtained the bishop's license. He was no less fortunate in his acquaintance with primate Boulter, whose regard for him is proved by the liberality of an endowment in the university of Glasgow.

In 1728, he published his "Treatise on the Passions," which at once obtained extensive reputation; and also wrote some papers which were published in a collection, entitled "Hibernicus' Letters" —in these he discussed the subject of laughter in opposition to Hobbes.

In 1729, his reputation had become widely diffused, so that, in his own department of speculative inquiry, he had no rival. He had also a very considerable, though subordinate, character as a successful schoolmaster. The university of Glasgow, justly regarding him as her own, and acting upon that enlightened and liberal economy which has, in the course of time, so raised the intellectual character of Scotland, offered him the high honour of her chair of moral philosophy. To Hutcheson this was far more than independence and honour; it was peculiarly the vantage-ground for his genius and his tastes. The degree of LL.D. was added; and, as he was preceded by his reputation, disciples from every quarter crowded to drink moral wisdom at the fountain of Glasgow. The popularity of Hutcheson was increased by the combination of zeal with the most expansive benevolence which governed his conduct, and transfused itself into his philosophy. He was unwearied in his endeavours to promote the advancement of every branch of academic acquirement, and especially of the divinity classes.

He enjoyed such good general health, and, seemingly, possessed so good a constitution, that he might well have looked forward to a long period of useful exertion. But he fell a victim to a severe attack of gout in his fifty-third year. He had married soon after settling in Dublin, and had a son, Francis Hutcheson, M.D., who afterwards

published his "System of Moral Philosophy," in three books, Glasgow, 1755.

It would be impossible to enter into a minute and critical examination of the philosophy of Hutcheson, without viewing more fully than would be quite consistent with our general plan, the systems of other writers on moral philosophy. Without this we should commit the injustice of seeming to place to his account the errors which are perhaps inherent in the subject—as they are, at least, common to all by whom it has been treated. We shall, therefore, simply be content to offer a brief general statement of these great fundamental mistakes; after which we shall, with the same brevity, endeavour to offer some estimate of the main tenet of Hutcheson.

The same general tendency to generalize which may be traced in the history of all time and of every part of human knowledge, was developed, in its most vicious form, in the middle ages. We have had frequent occasions to notice its effects on intellectual philosophy. It also had its effects on moral philosophy.

To begin with the simplest principles, and reduce all known phenomena to the most elementary origin, is, accordingly, the uniform endeavour of the casuist; and in this, two great errors have been almost uniformly committed, to an extent almost difficult to believe. First, with regard to abstract principles—they are assumed, or attempted to be fixed at a point *anterior to any possible means of ascertaining them* —they begin before the beginning of human knowledge. The series of causes, like the golden chain described by Homer, begins in the nature and secret counsels of the Supreme Mind; and if the *abstract* and elementary principles of justice and virtue, of good and ill, have any existence, it is not to be discerned by the casuist, or found in his perplexed inquiries. The *declared law* of the Author of all goodness and wisdom, is clear as day-light. The moral and physical constitution of human nature is practically ascertained enough, together with the several laws of conduct, both instituted and conventional, and the various interests which arise from it—so far as they *follow* from these, the principles of right and wrong, of good and evil, &c., are thoroughly understood: they ask no casuist to define them. And any difficulty worthy of serious attention, will be found in the perplexity of the special case to which these principles may have to be applied—as, for instance, when there are various clashing rights or interests to be adjusted. And it is for the clearing of such questions alone, that casuistry is worth anything. The question, therefore, as to the *nature* and *origin* of justice, &c., is not the reasonable foundation of this branch of inquiry; not that this origin, or this abstract nature, do not exist, but because we know nothing about them.—To have any value, philosophy must begin with positive law and the reality of things.

Secondly. From this we arrive at the next great source of perplexity among the casuists. Of the last-mentioned principles, the constitution of nature branches into several important derivative principles, in the application of which the most considerable errors and differences arise. And it is on these that we should be compelled to digress largely into several statements and estimates of numerous

writers, whom we shall here pass with the summary charge of having respectively adopted some one of several co-ordinate elements, and, by great ingenuity, endeavoured to render it the foundation of their whole system. As this censure is in some degree applicable to all, we shall now at once return to Hutcheson, as offering a very sufficient illustration.

The fundamental principle of Hutcheson's philosophy is benevolence. In this he supposes virtue to consist, and reduces to it all the other virtuous affections of the mind. If the general or etymological sense of this term were to be assumed, it must be allowed that its enlarged comprehension might, without further inquiry, be offered as a term coextensive with all the systems of virtue which have good in any form for their object. But Hutcheson understands the word in its idiomatic sense of good will towards others. It is at once apparent by what species of constructive arguments, the great variety of familiar and explicit motives which bear the general character of virtuous, and have good for their end, must be interpreted, to convert them into results of *human* benevolence. The general fallacy is, in fact, a confusion between the *intention* and the *actual result.* It is but a necessary consequence of Hutcheson's principle, that he rejects the error which generally prevailed among the casuists before him: that of resolving all human motives into self-love. There is, indeed, a curious illustration of the little value of human systems, to be derived from the existence of so strange an *opposition.* The exclusion here mentioned, has not, however, the merit of originating from a clear view of the error, neither does it place the principle on its true grounds. This praise belongs to bishop Butler. In truth, this was rendered unattainable to Hutcheson, by the very principle of his theory. His end of action having sole reference to others, must needs entirely exclude the regard to *self* in every form. That the reader may more fully understand the nature of this correction of an error, which is not yet quite excluded from opinion—the selfish principle may be thus expressed:—"We do good to others, because it is in some way pleasurable to ourselves." The answer to this fallacy is to show that it does not explain the simple fact of the pleasurable emotion itself. It assigns a cause which is itself the thing to be explained.

The main practical proof on which Hutcheson relies, is the general sense, that the mixture of any selfish motive takes away from the merit of an action. The fallacy of any inference from this in support of his theory is, however, too palpable to be dwelt on; the *theory* is evidently taken for granted in the *proof:* there is also an equivocation implied. It may be admitted, to be sure, that a theory of pure benevolence must be subject to such a deduction—a motive of self-regard must, of course, be an admissible deduction from any profession of pure regard to others. But the allowance can be no further applied. Beyond this the argument is resolvable to mere affirmations, and terminates in the definition of a term. The word virtue may be so defined as to exclude prudence, fortitude, self-control, and the disciplined moral sense. But as we have said, the main source of Hutcheson's error consists in not having observed the important distinction between the results of actions and the motives of the action; be-

tween affections of the mind and consequences of conduct. In consequence of this fatal oversight, he speaks as if every impulse of the mind must have its foundation in a previous deliberation on the elementary laws of social wellbeing. According to this view, it is plain that all motions must, in some way, terminate in benevolence—from the soldier who wades in blood, to the awful justice which commands and represses the tender impulses of pity to pronounce the dreadful sentence, and condemn the wretch who must die for the public good. Assuredly, if the virtuous motives here supposed to govern, are to be assigned to benevolence, there must be benevolence of very varied and very opposite kinds. In truth, a virtuous action is one which immediately proceeds from a virtuous motive; and the subject is altogether confused and perplexed by the common method of those numerous casuists, who look further than the direct motive, in which not only no confusion could arise, but scarcely a difference. These differences have all arisen from the ingenious quibbling by which any one motive can be deduced from any other. "Those three systems," observes Adam Smith, "that which places virtue in propriety; that which places it in prudence; and that which makes it consist in benevolence, are the three principal accounts which have been given of the nature of virtue. To one or other of them, all the other descriptions of virtue, how different soever they appear, are easily reducible." Casuists appear to deal in *easy virtue*. As for us, who do not aspire to the heights of any kind of philosophy, we hold that the good and evil deeds of men are not, in ordinary conduct, the result of any theory of public good, to comprehend which demands a life devoted to unwearied study, with abilities of no low order. The great Creator of man has variously endowed him with affections which are subservient to the design of social life. Of these the workings and immediate moving causes and tendencies are various. So far as they can be called virtue, they are ruled by a disciplined sense of obligation, and by habitual inclination, in conformity with express laws, established conventions, and defined interests. They may well be called *beneficent;* but they cannot be generically termed *benevolent*. On the contrary, they have their several private and particular ends, and give rise to actions, habits, and lines of conduct, in which the agent has no sentiment or motive beyond the immediate satisfaction of a desire, the promotion of an interest, or fulfilment of a duty, directly the object of his mind, and without any contemplation of the general principle or the remote end. Of the whole, it is true, there is a general design, based on some elementary principle or principles, but for which these casuists will ever search in vain. The ultimate law may be benevolence—but if so, it is the benevolence of God.

We cannot precisely tell in what *abstract* obligation consists, nor in what it begins;—of abstract right and wrong, or abstract virtue, we know nothing. But the first point at which they become the distinct object of human cognizance is a different question. Human obligation begins in certain laws declared or implied. In conformity to these laws, is *virtue* to be found, and those affections which tend to this conformity are virtuous affections. But an *act* may be good in its *tendency*, and such as the most heroic virtue would dictate, and yet be not only not

virtuous, but vicious. Thus there is a maxim, that it is in the prudent regard of every individual to his own interest that the public good is best promoted—and that is generally true; but, assuredly, in this prudence there is no benevolence, unless by great courtesy of construction: nor, indeed, for the most part, any virtue but of the lowest kind—a keen and intelligent self-interest. But while the individual obtains the benefit—which is all that he has thought of—a small portion of unthought-of good is added to the aggregate good of the system; and this, if traced at all to *design*, must be attributed only to the Designer who comprehends and overrules the whole.

On this view,—while it condemns Hutcheson's theory, in common with most others,—yet it leads to a consideration much to his praise. The ultimate result of the virtuous affections is clearly coextensive with an enlarged scheme of benevolence. It also aptly harmonizes with the spiritual economy of the law of God as revealed in the New Testament—the "first and great commandment," and the second which "is like unto it.

But we forbear from entering further on a diffusive topic. We have no very high opinion of the utility of systems of casuistry. It seems to be the only subject which is least understood by those who have devoted their lives to its study. The truths of morality drop spontaneously from the poet's pen and the preacher's tongue, and there are few well-taught men in civilized society, who do not think more correctly than any systematic writer, except Butler, whose practical chapter on moral discipline, is worth all that we can recollect to have met with on ethical philosophy. Men do not act from theories, but from laws, customs, and the complex tendencies which passions, sentiments, and habits, together, or separately, produce. Laws and institutions have their origin, *primarily*, in the will of God; and, *secondarily*, in the *whole constitution* of human nature. They exist in very various forms, and change according to circumstances which determine or arise from the social state,—while the natural affections and the institutions of nature remain still the same, as first impressed by Him who launched the planet on its path. Those first intuitions are not to be analyzed; they are prime elements, and all attempts to derive them from something else, must end in specious nonsense. A true system of moral philosophy must commence with a full and distinct enumeration of all the moral elements separately considered, and proceed, by a careful inquiry, into their effects in human life, under all its aspects and stages of existence. It is from the clear and thorough understanding of the separate and constituent elements, that the system which involves their mutual relations can be discerned.

Sir Hans Sloane.

BORN A.D. 1660.—DIED A.D. 1752.

ALEXANDER SLOANE was the head of the Scottish colony in Ireland in the reign of James I.; he was collector of taxes for the county of Down. His son—the subject of this memoir—was born at Killeagh,

in that county, in 1660. His taste for natural history was early remarkable: and his disposition was so intensely studious that in his sixteenth year of age he was attacked by a spitting of blood which caused great fear for his life, and confined him for three years to his chamber. On his recovery he applied himself to the study of medicine, and especially to chemistry and botany. To pursue these studies with more advantage, he visited London, where he remained four years; he there became acquainted with Boyle and Ray, from each of whom he obtained much valuable counsel and aid in his favourite studies.

From London he went on to Paris, where he derived a considerable accession to his knowledge from the lectures of Duberney and Tournefort; and, perhaps, still more from his botanical excursions with Magnal, an eminent botanist of Montpelier.

On his return, his acquirements in his favourite pursuit were very great, and he was enabled to communicate much both of information and valuable specimens to Ray, who frequently acknowledges his obligation in his "History of Plants." Sloane now became acquainted with the illustrious Sydenham, who took him into his house and endeavoured to advance his professional interests.

But Sloane's adoption of the medical profession was chiefly the effect of his love of botany—a branch of knowledge which seems to require some very peculiar turn of intellect not easy to describe, but easily observed in those who attain decided success in its pursuit. He abandoned his apparently fair prospects for the love of the favourite and absorbing pursuit, and accepted the situation of physician to the duke of Albemarle, who was going out as governor to Jamaica. The temptation was unquestionably at that time too great to be resisted. The vegetable nature of America, and still more of its tropical islands and shores, was an unexplored field, interesting for the rich promise it offered to the curious zeal of inquiry, as well as for the questions which were entertained upon the subject. The botanist had, till then, confined his research to Europe, and the range, therefore, for Sloane's more adventurous curiosity, was vast, and necessarily profuse of novel interest and discovery. There had been, till then, a doubt entertained by the most learned botanists whether the vegetable productions of the New World were not wholly different from those of the old continents. The doubt was set at rest by a catalogue of plants collected in Jamaica identical with European specimens. Sloane, in addition to eight hundred specimens of West Indian plants, also brought a rich collection of animal specimens. His labours were also eulogized by his contemporaries for the astonishing industry they evinced; having only remained fifteen months in Jamaica. On the death of the duke of Albemarle, he returned to London.

In 1694, he was elected physician of Christ's Hospital, and must have made a very rapid advance in his profession: for, in addition to the inference to be derived from the fact of this preferment, it is known that he was independent of its emoluments. These he received, but it was only to return them to the Hospital for the extension of its advantages, and for the relief of its poorer inmates.

In 1693, he had been elected secretary to the Royal Society, and, by his

exertion and influence, revived the publication of its transactions which had been for some years discontinued—to these he was himself a frequent contributor.

In 1695, he married a daughter of Alderman Langley.—And, in 1697, published his "Catalogue of the Native Plants of Jamaica."

In 1701, he became possessed of a valuable museum collected by his friend Mr William Courteen; this collection greatly enlarged that which his own industry had formed, and which, at his death, became the foundation of the British Museum.

In that period the species of knowledge to which Sloane was devoted, occupied proportionally a higher share of public estimation than at any subsequent period. It was still haloed round by the visionary lights of alchemy and enchantment; though these hallucinations of mankind had been dissipated, there lingered an imaginary charm about the objects in which they had been conversant: while, at the same time, the opposite impulse which has its origin in sober reason, gave no less importance to researches which tended to restore the fields, skies, and elements, to the empire of reality. The higher and more intellectual sciences had at that time but recently been developed by Newton, and his contemporaries. And the mere collections of curious research, always valuable as materials for knowledge, had then a far higher importance than the very sciences to which they have since given rise, or been the foundation. The industry of Sloane had surpassed his contemporaries, and his singular munificence had extended the results of his industry—his skill, as a physician, increased his intercourse, and gave a more sterling value to his claims. The Transactions of the Royal Society, in the publication of which he took an active part, and to which he was a constant and useful contributor, placed him in immediate contact with the ablest men of his day. The consideration of this combination of circumstances enables us to understand the high consideration which seems to have attached to Sloane, beyond any pretension in his intellectual character, or in the importance of his discoveries. Eminent worth—unquestionably the highest claim to respect—unless when accompanied by elevated station and commanding power, can leave little to the record of human praise. The munificence which has left durable bequests to the British public has well earned the meed of national gratitude; but, when the fact is written, all that can be added is the sounding amplification of eulogy—too often abused to have much value. We offer these reflections, as we trust they may enable the reader to understand, more fully, the necessity under which we are compelled to offer an account of this illustrious physician and virtuoso, far from commensurate with the important position which he filled in society. In truth, it is only when intellectual pretension is backed by far more popular attractions, that men of the highest order can well take their place in the world's eye; and the popular manner and graceful address will, to a great extent, dispense with the more sterling claim: and thus it has been, and still is, that popular distinction is often hard to be understood by those who fail to penetrate the true secret of public favour. A commanding fame, like Newton's, could shine through the clouds of unpopularity, and command respect,

and admiration, without courting favour; but the station conceded to Newton's pre-eminence, was, on his death in 1727, conferred on Sloane, a more popular character. This fact is, however, not invidiously mentioned here, notwithstanding the prejudice of comparisons; Sloane was eminently deserving of all honour; and his elevation to the president's chair, in the Royal Society, was a just tribute to worth, munificence, zeal for science, and professional skill. We believe that, on this occasion, it was that he presented one hundred guineas to the Society, and a bust of Charles II.

His medical reputation was such as to place him in the foremost rank. He had been constantly consulted by queen Anne, whom he attended in her last illness. On the accession of George I. he was created a baronet, and appointed physician-general to the army. In 1727, he was appointed physician to George II.

In 1733, when he had attained his seventy-third year, he began to feel the necessity of contracting his scope of activity: he now resigned the presidency of the Royal College of Physicians, to which he had been elected in 1719. In his eightieth year, his resignation of the presidentship of the Royal Society was received by this distinguished body with marks of high respect. He had, some time previous, purchased the manor of Chelsea, and established there a botanic garden, which he gave to the apothecaries' company on condition of a quitrent of £5; and the annual delivery of fifty different specimens of plants to the Royal Society, till the number presented should amount to two thousand. Having experienced the injurious effects of an illness consequent on the severe winter of 1739, he now thought it full time to relinquish his profession, to the fatigues of which he found his strength unequal, and removed from Bloomsbury to his Chelsea manor. In this retreat he still continued to receive persons of rank and distinction, and was often visited by the royal family. He also continued to give medical advice to all who came to consult him, and showed the most obliging attention to those who came to see his museum. Though feeble, he still retained the entire possession of his intellect, and was free from disease. His decline was gentle, and he was accustomed to express his wonder at finding himself still alive. He died at last, after a few days' illness, and without suffering. At his death he left legacies to all the hospitals in London. His death took place on the 11th January, 1753, in his ninety-second year.

His museum he left to the public, on the condition that £20,000 should be paid to his executors. According to his own estimate, the whole collection was worth four times the sum; so that the value of this splendid legacy, to England, may be estimated at £60,000. In the collection, there were gold and silver coins which, as bullion alone, would have brought £7000, besides also numerous precious stones, and a library of 50,000 volumes, many of the most costly description. The government took the offer, and paid the stipulated sum. There was an act passed for the purchase of Sir Hans Sloane's collection, with that of the earl of Oxford, at the time offered for sale by his daughter, the duchess of Portland, and for placing all together with the Cottonian library. They were accordingly collected and

arranged in Montague House, in Bloomsbury, and formed the commencement of the British Museum, which was first opened to the public in 1759.

This last act of Sir Hans Sloane's life is his great and true claim to the grateful memory of England. In that splendid national institution the students of nature may find his monument; there the memorials of his unwearied and successful devotion to their favourite pursuits still claim the tribute of veneration, and breathe their "*circumspice*" to those who look for his monument.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO FIFTH PERIOD,

EXTENDING

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. TO HIS DEATH.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

Distinguished Irishmen

WHO FLOURISHED DURING THAT PERIOD.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO THE

FIFTH PERIOD.

Prefatory Remarks—This period one of transition—Outline of events, constitutional change in England—General party changes—Religion—Literature, arts, and general civilization.

Prefatory Remarks.—Before we enter upon the most interesting and important division of those memoirs which yet remain to be written, it becomes necessary to call the attention of our readers to several considerations, connected with the changes which must now affect the execution of our work. Through a long succession of obscure, but yet violent changes, for the most part too irregular in their operation, and too much attributable to the working of external and accidental forces for the orderly and progressive course of regular history—we have at length arrived at that point at which, for the most part, regular history stops. If this has any truth, with relation to the history of other great countries, in which a settled and unbroken progress of constitutional causes has advanced from early times to the present—how much more must it be felt in the anomalous records of Ireland. Here the steps of civil and social progress have moved fitfully, with long pauses and sudden starts. Nor has it often been allowed to occur, that the advance, which is ever the unforced and inevitable result of national tranquillity, has been suffered to put forth its blossoms and mature its fruits, uninterrupted by the storm and flood of commotion and terror. A sense of insecurity has become indigenous. Our civil atmosphere has been surcharged with a menace and a gloom which few have been willing to abide, whose means could afford, or whose interests demanded, a more still and salubrious clime. The civilizing influence of refined luxury, and the enriching powers of commerce, have been repelled by causes which it would be great injustice to charge as imputations to the discredit of the Irish people. But we cannot avoid saying,—as it is a consideration by which our remaining task must be materially affected,—that it is so replete with the materials of reproach to individuals and to bodies of men—so full also of painful depreciation, even where praise is to be allowed—and so beset at every step with necessary dissent from opinions formed in the heat of party contention, and unfit to bear the touchstone of historical indifference, that it will be hard to pass clear from censures which, we frankly

confess, we would, if possible, avoid, through this unsafe and uncertain period. In a former introduction it was our endeavour to show, that the incidents with which we had mainly to deal, were free from any essential connexion with the party quarrels to which they have been forcibly annexed by the mendacity of faction. Even for the effort, we have not escaped from censure. Other countries look to the present and the future; but Irish politicians will, in despite of truth and discretion, lash their country to the remote past, and contend on insults and grievances, which, in the course of nature, are buried, and, in prudence, ought to be forgotten.

But such a resource no longer remains. Our history is now become the living and raging torrent of the present generation. Not, indeed, we must say, that it should be thus; for within these few years changes have taken place, which might suggest the prudence of trying for a while the effects of tranquil encouragement to the arts of peace. But so it is—nor can we,—to take one example,—approach that bygone fact, the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland, without an unpleasant sense of constraint, arising from the consideration, that in Ireland it remains a debatable question, to excite angry, though unreasonable feelings. In the whole history of that most stirring and momentous interval of Ireland's most eminent men, it is the same—every name the password of faction, every step over passions, prejudices, and animosities:

. . . . . per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.

Flood, Grattan, Charlemont, and the long list of honoured names which come to the memory when their names are mentioned, bring associations difficult to be avoided by those who are most likely to think of them with interest. We recollect, it is true, the well-merited compliments which have been paid to some of the biographers of the same period, for the discretion with which they have threaded their way through this class of difficulties. We perfectly concur in the praise so earned; but our task is, to some extent, different. Our undertaking is qualified by a condition which does not, in all cases, permit us to turn aside at will from that which is delicate or embarrassing. We may, it is true, and are in duty bound to avoid touching on the tender points of family pride or sensibility. We are not, and cannot, be bound to rake up the cinders of forgotten scandal for the public. But still we have undertaken to write history; and there are truths to be written, and acts of justice to be done, which, so far as his private feelings are concerned, the biographer might well desire to avoid. Such is the description of one very important circumstance attendant upon our entrance into the period now remaining. With respect to more recent events which have occurred within our own generation, they are excluded from any very prominent place in these pages, by the happy circumstance, that their principal actors are still alive.

There is another very essential circumstance, which, though it has hitherto much interfered with the uniformity of our narrative, must now become one of its peculiar conditions. Not a few of our greatest men, in every department, have found their sphere of action in the

political and literary circles of London. In men like Burke and Sheridan, Ireland has paid back to England her old hereditary debt, for the many illustrious scions which have been planted and thriven in her soil. We shall be called on to exert much nice discretion in touching on the great field of European politics, in which Irish statesmen and warriors have borne not merely a forward, but a foremost part. Men whose minds have given a stamp to the age, have sprung from Irish blood, and in despite of her isolation, have secured to their country her place among the nations of modern Europe. Among the most prominent consequences which this circumstance must have upon the method which we have hitherto adopted, there is one of which it may be expedient that the reader should be apprised. Instead of pursuing the strictly chronological order, which has hitherto been our main principle of arrangement, it will be in some measure necessary to group our persons according to the place and general character of their lives. By this means we shall evidently avoid the necessity of prolix repetitions of the same series of historical incidents. The period of British and Irish history which especially requires this precaution, is one singularly distinguished by the magnitude and rapid accumulation of the events which both the divisions thus suggested would comprise. The marked events of Irish history in the latter end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, called forth a rich and brilliant display of character and talent. The history of England is, in a different way, no less distinguished for characters and events of the very first magnitude. According to that arrangement, we shall be enabled to follow out a distinct outline of the history of this country, under the lives of Charlemont, Flood, Grattan, and a few more names less fortunately connected with their country's records; while the memoirs of Burke and Castlereagh are successively connected with the most momentous events which are contained in the records of modern history —perhaps, indeed, (for the importance of these events is not yet fully ascertained,) in the records of time.

The period one of transition.—To trace with tolerable precision the vast changes of which the development begins to become perceptible, from the commencement of the period now to occupy our attention, would require a volume to itself. We shall avail ourselves of the many occasions which must present to illustrate a subject of such deep and pregnant interest: but it is here our chief purpose to offer a more general and elementary sketch than the object of the succeeding narratives will permit, of those great political processes which will be more or less involved in the entire tone of the subsequent memoirs, and which will, at some future period, be generally understood to constitute the characteristic interest of the history of the present century. The period from which we are next to borrow our character and colouring, is pre-eminently a period of *transition*. This is the principle by which all the future details of these volumes will be governed, and which, whether much or little expressed, will be a prime element involved throughout. The reader cannot have it too distinctly in view. For this reason it must, in this preliminary statement, be our chief object to offer some needful expositions, which might here-

after be felt to embarrass the narrative, or break the interest of those details in which they may be most required.

The most cursory reader of newspapers, if he has even a superficial acquaintance with the state of his own times, is aware, generally, of the magnitude of the events—the rapidity of the practical discoveries in science, and improvements in art—the changes in manners—the increase of wealth—the diffusion of knowledge—and the democratic tendency which has shown itself in political opinions and events. These broad features are such as to have escaped not even the intelligent peasant's attention. And it may be also as distinctly recognised, that the progress of these changes has been in the main marked by a very obvious *acceleration*, which, though subject to apparent occasional retardations, has yet considerable marks of uniformity, when amidst the complication of the moving scene, the eye begins to detect and trace the currents and forces of human tendency.

Of this, the elementary principle is one of extreme simplicity, and by no means such as to demand any ingenuity to detect. We cannot here, for obvious reasons, go far into elementary investigation, and must be satisfied with that degree of expansion which may be sufficient to lead intelligibly to our intended applications. It would, assuredly, much advantage every portion of our future task, could we, within the requisite bounds, convey clear and well-defined notions upon those moral, intellectual, and physical wants and powers, by means of which the first rude elements of civilization, when once committed to their agency, are nurtured and developed; the law by which this development gains progress; the means by which it is variously modified, interrupted, and transferred; the laws of its retardations and accelerations, and those by which it is preserved. Such is the rough outline of the theory, to some broken portions of which we must now for a moment beg the thoughtful attention of the reader. From the very beginning of time, a gradual accumulation of the elements of civilization can be vaguely traced, with still increasing distinctness. It has, however, been always subject to the action of external forces, so violent as not only to retard its progress, but to alter its place and direction: this is the main lesson of ancient history. Civilization appears to have advanced by long stages—to have received apparent checks—to have changed its climate, and reappeared wearing some new features, and with some new elements of progress. Looked upon without regard to partial or local interruptions, it will appear to have travelled from climate to climate, gathering from each some varied element; and from age to age, uniformly accumulating breadth and depth. In the descent of ages, and amid the revolutions of dynasties and empires, the knowledge and experience of each great period of time has been transmitted, to be augmented and improved in the following. Two general causes have given to the progress thus described its character of *acceleration:* first, and chiefly, the increase which every part of progress is likely to derive from the increase of all the rest. This, as a general principle, demands no great reflection to perceive, though in detail it would be too difficult and complex to be followed, unless in a book devoted to the subject: it is the vast science of which political economy

is but a chapter. The second is more evident still: with the advance of knowledge and all the arts of life, the proportion of the more wealthy and informed classes has a tendency to increase; and, with this increase, many causes of progress become increased or developed. Thus, as the aristocratic principle in early stages has gradually gained ground upon the despotic,—the democratic, in its turn, has gained upon both. But let us for a moment pause; we are upon perilous ground. There never, perhaps, was a period in which it is more imperatively a duty to be guarded in the statement of such general principles, than at the present, when the maxims of political science have acquired a certain degree of popular currency. In a free statement of the principle of human progress, it is not to be concealed that we necessarily state also the elementary principle of democracy, the principle of which has been glaringly mis-stated by a large class of popular writers and orators. The democrat and the revolutionary journalist have placed it on grounds not only false, but pernicious; such, indeed, as to give it a dangerous tendency, which it does not otherwise possess. The "rights of man," the "will of the people," and all such other phrases, as they have been commonly applied, involve the utter denial of all rights, and the dissolution of society; they who use such language, either mean something else which it does not express, or use the words merely as the trumpet-notes of sedition.

The principle is strictly this, that the effect of social progress is a growing tendency to *equalization*. This is, however, a merely theoretic result, to which, according to strict science, there would be a perpetual approach, as to an infinitely distant point—the perfection of the social state—of this the moral impossibility can easily be proved. The social system is radically founded on two distinct first principles; first, on *positive institution*, in the consideration of which we are here unconcerned; and secondly, on the *natural inequalities* of mankind—inequality of physical strength—of intellectual powers—of moral temper—so that, if the crowd were supposed to start fairly from the most perfect level, very few years could pass without a despotism or aristocracy, and a system of coercive institutions, adapted more or less to the rude first stages of national existence. The result of all human progress is, as we have stated, a modified equalization, and a remote approach towards a state which cannot have existence without a radical alteration in human nature. Such a vision, indeed, appertains to those visionaries who have raved about the *perfectibility* of man, and urged the dissolution of society. And we must here, by the way, observe, that if a certain class of some English historians and biographers who have recently been eloquent in praising the philosophy of Jacobinism —spoken of the "enlightened science" of the national convention, and called the radical demolition of the social state in France "a great progress of regeneration,"—had any precise notion of the science thus rashly named, they would have at once perceived the utter absurdity of the clever and eloquent visionaries, whose frantic ravings so widely misled the intellect of nations, in despite of those practical results which contradicted them so soon and so entirely.

The real progressive equalization of which it here concerns us to speak clearly and distinctly, is no enforced or revolutionary demolition

of orders and privileges. It is the visibly spontaneous result of those ameliorations arising from commerce and knowledge, as they become diffused; by means of which the inferior ranks grow richer and wiser, and in virtue of which, the increase of wealth and the expansion of national mind have continued to broaden from age to age, and the productive and inventive powers of the entire mass to increase. Hence the *acceleration* to which we adverted, and which we consider to be the peculiar characteristic of modern times.

There is, however, another essential principle in which these considerations are largely involved. So far as we have gone, the *revolutionary* character of the period before us remains untouched; we have undertaken to view it as a period of transition. At first sight it might seem to be the inference from all that we have stated—that those abrupt stages in the progress of nations, which are termed revolutions, are uncontemplated in the general law of progress. The contrary is, however, the truth; and hence the real necessity for the wide compass of our remarks. There is an antagonistic principle essential to the existence of society. If rightly considered, those great constitutional structures of law and civil government, which are essential to civilized society, are not, and never have been, (we think never can be,) of the same elastic and progressive character as those causes which we have previously pointed out. They may be more or less elastic in their texture; but, simply considered, are the principle of stability, opposed to, and governing the principles of change. The one partakes of the spontaneous characters of nature; the other of art. One is independent of human design, and advances unobserved; the other, though overruled by many causes, is originated in the wisdom or folly of statesmen and councils. But the law of civil institutions is here to be noted for its stationary character. It stands still, and sets bounds to the growing structure of society.* The uncalculated expansion of moral and intellectual forces and

* This elementary truth is of some importance to those who would wish to investigate the foundations and primary laws of civil society. We do not recollect to have seen it explained as we think its importance deserves. The forces which preserve a system of polity, and those which advance national progress, are, in some respects, antagonistic forces. The latter we have fully stated above; the other consists in a combination of powers. There are some of them, as, for instance, *opinion*, common to both; others, as laws, institutions, and the administrative and deliberative powers which reside in councils, senates, and individuals, when taken together, and viewed in strict reference to the principle here stated, constitute the *conservative*, and, at the same time, the *retarding* power. The mutual opposition of these principles is an inherent necessity in the state of man, and not as the demagogue would imply, an evil to be removed by violence. It holds a line which, however shifted, must continue somewhere to be found, till man becomes both all-wise and all-just. The principle here stated, though it carries with it some appearance of refining, yet when clearly announced, is almost, if not entirely, axiomatic. If the reader should desire to look very closely into the elementary constitution of this antagonism, it depends on several causes; first, the fact that political foresight can see but doubtfully, and but a little way—the wisest man can no more regulate the remote progress of events, than he can add a cubit to his stature; and as it often happens that ultimate progress is to be attained by immediate and general evils, the little that human wisdom can see must operate rather to the discouragement, than the promotion of changes. Secondly, the mere fact that the advances of human progress are spontaneous, indefinite, and not, for the most part, such as to indicate any very obvious course of legislative

requisitions—the wide increase of wants and refinements—the altered form and symmetry of the frame of things—goes on for ages, accumulating strength and pressure, until, at last, some moment *must of necessity* arrive, when there is a balance of the two great antagonistic forces; and at such a point, for reasons obvious enough, they may long continue in equilibrium, which would be fearful, but that, like some fatal affections of the heart, it offers no perceptible symptoms, till some seemingly slight incident gives the fatal impulse, which is no more to be checked than the avalanche when it has left its point of suspension. Some imagined accident, itself in reality a result of the disease, gives the fatal signal, and the ancient shell begins to sever into flaws, or bursts asunder with portentous ruin, and frees the pent elements of human progress, with the ruin, perhaps, of a generation of mankind—for we should not pass on without observing, that of revolution the immediate event is uncertain; it has always fearful oscillations, and though beneficial when viewed with reference to ages and the advance of mankind, to the place of its origin, it is at best a cure through the means of disease—the operation may bring life or death. But to return.

These are but general facts, our special duty will be to point their application to the period before us. The best illustrations of this will arise in the memoirs of eminent individuals, whose names are inseparable from the political, literary, and social history of their times. A few very cursory outlines must be enough in this place.

Outline of events.—As the application of these general principles is the main object of this illustration, we shall be here content to notice the great characteristic events of this period no further than this purpose may require. More detailed notices of the same events must form a principal portion of our subsequent labours. To appreciate distinctly either the great constitutional changes, or the moral, social, and intellectual advances, on which we design to dwell more fully, it may be useful to many of our readers to have in mind some such general sketch of the great causal events as we shall now very briefly offer. In looking back to trace the beginnings of that great revolution, of which the whole history of modern times is but an account, it is vain to inquire for the first event; the most penetrating sagacity

expediency, while the repeal or enactment of a law is necessarily encumbered with forms, discussions, oppositions, and all the accumulation of prepossession and ignorance, which must retard the decisions of every deliberative body. Lastly, there is, both in individuals, as well as in corporate institutions, an inseparable tenacity of power. Without this, it is evident that no power could exist. It is the essential vitality of a system. That life, which, though it may be but a step to a better state, cannot be yielded without a struggle, because the transition is through the gates of death. Man, we know, is destined to rise again from the empire of the grave; but when a nation is sick to death, there is no consolatory assurance but in the physician, who can retard the menaced disruption of the vital powers, and by firm resistance govern and guide to sane issues those spontaneous efforts, which, when they set in, cannot be repressed, and may not with certainty be overruled. The powers which advance the world, without the counteraction of these powers which retard, are the same which would terminate in the destruction of States. It is not by its *wisdom*, but by its *wants*, that public will operates for good; it is a blind force, but it is one of the forces of *nature*. After all, the resisting power is but another. Both are essential; the extremes to which both are ever tending are the evils to be feared.

can but trace a little farther back; and wherever the understanding can first clearly reach the precise social workings of any place and time, that will seem to be the beginning. While, throughout, those moral and political workings which we have endeavoured to define, have been gaining the point of efficient power, and throwing out occasional, local, and partial indications, seldom to be rightly comprehended till seen afar from the vantage-ground of time. An attentive observation, directed either to popular history, or to the conflict of political opinions and the expositions of public writers and speakers, or still more to the general impressions of the public mind, as manifested in private circles, cannot fail very clearly to perceive how confused a notion of the real progress of the current of human affairs is obtained by those who seem to be most actively engaged or keenly interested in the movements of their own day. We have more than once adverted to this remarkable truth, and feel here tempted to quote a passage from one of the letters of Sir Walter Scott, in which it is very strikingly expressed. Having alluded to Walpole's memoirs of the last ten years of George II., he proceeds, "It is acrid and lively, but serves, I think, to show how little those who live in public business, and, of course, in constant agitation and intrigue, know about the real and deep progress of opinions and events. The memoirs of Sir George Mackenzie are of the same class; both immersed in little political detail, and the struggling skirmish of party, seem to have lost sight of the great progressive movements of human affairs. They put me somewhat in mind of a miller, who is so busy with the clatter of his own wheels, grindstones, and machinery, and so much employed in regulating his own artificial mill-dam, that he is incapable of noticing the gradual swell of the river from which he derives his little stream, until it comes down in such force as to carry his whole manufactory away before it."*

The advance of intelligence and wealth had long been gathering power and growth in England, as through all the States of civilized Europe, when the great rebellion in the time of Charles I. shook loose the constitutional ligaments and joinings of the then existing frame of the commonwealth, and a revolution began which met with various stops and impulses, but which could not stand still until a level had been attained fully commensurate with the stature of the public mind. It ran through its natural stages as the opposite forces prevailed, until, with much crime and madness on one side, and no great wisdom or virtue on the other, the revolution was brought to a most happy termination by the change which placed William III. upon the throne. From this great era England and Ireland — and every State in Europe—went on in the ordinary course of national progress, though with very unequal steps; improving in condition, and gathering new strength in trade and knowledge for a few generations, little interrupted by any wide or permanent obstacle. During the interval thus described, Ireland is mainly remarkable for that inequality which has been often observed in the course of this book, and which we shall more fully explain presently. The popular pressure which she opposed

* Lockhart's Life of Scott, Vol. vi.

against the barriers of jurisdiction was but slight, compared with the force and energy of democratic resistance and popular self-assertion in England. She had, as yet, no people, and was chiefly subject to the collisions of her divided aristocracy,* and the various action of other causes; the enforced partiality of government to English interests, and the official maladministrations which were the necessary result of such a state of things. And this statement may be taken as a summary description of the condition of the country, from the revolution of 1688 till the commencement of the American war.

At this point we arrive at another and very advanced stage in the history of European, and, still more, of British progress. The beginning of the disputes which led to the American war was another of those shocks, of which the effect was expansive, inevitable, and proportioned to the real progress which had been gained in the previous interval. The struggle in which the States of the American Union shook off the colonial yoke, was but an event which must sooner or later have occurred—but we are here only concerned with some remoter consequences. The shock of the struggle and of its event reached England, Ireland, and France; and variously affected them, according to their then existing conditions. These several impulses, ere long, became in a manner combined, or were perhaps severally modified and augmented by a mutual reaction. Both of these considerations will be of use to us. We must first observe the event with regard to Ireland.

The jealousy of commercial interests, in which the disadvantages had, of course, been felt by the weaker, operated to create a disunion between the two kingdoms. To maintain this superiority was an obligation enforced on the British government by the English people. In Ireland, a growing discontent on this score, augmented by other local discontents, was to be dealt with by the policy of government; and for this end the Irish parliament was to be managed by all those means which have been found effectual for such purposes. To extort concessions to the superiority and admissions of the interference of the English commons; to repress the outcries of commercial grievance; and to bring the income of the revenue to its highest level, were the primary duties of the vice-regal administration. And, for this, the Irish parliament was to be gained by the most profligate system of corruption and disunion. By taxation beyond the wealth of the country, a most exorbitant pension list was maintained—sinecures and offices did their ordinary work—and even national dissensions of old standing were pressed into the service, and the hands of government were strengthened by the cultivation of those rooted animosities, which have mainly depressed and retarded the true interests of the country. But there was beneath the surface a growing intelligence, and a spirit of resistance gathering. It only required the necessary occasion and the impulse to put it into motion. They came together across the waves of the Atlantic. The progress of the American war, while it communicated popular impressions, of which the effects were not very remote, placed England in a position of the most formidable emergency.

* The word is here used in its most general sense.

A league of continental hostility appeared to menace an overwhelming addition to the exhausting struggle into which she had been betrayed, and there came an interval in which the safety of the Ocean Queen seemed compromised, when

> "The boldest held his breath
> For a time."

But the exigency thus created was in Ireland productive of momentous consequences; in the alarm of immediate invasion the northern city of Belfast applied for protection to government—the answer of the Irish secretary was an acknowledgment of helplessness; and the effect was one of which the remotest consequences might have been clearly seen to the simplest political understanding. This effect was the arming of the Irish volunteers. This movement, which hereafter will be fully detailed, originated in no party design—it was as purely patriotic as it is reasonable to demand in any confederation of armed men. Its immediate object was soon attained; the menaced invader, whose main dependence was the ancient character of the Irish for readiness to join any enemy of England, shrunk back from the noble display of courage and patriotism which the emergency of England had thus called forth. It, however, so happened, from causes to be explained further on, that the increasing political intelligence and spirit of Ireland became at this anxious moment concentrated into a combination of patriotism, genius, and public virtue. The position of independent strength thus gained, could not fail to be quickly felt by all parties. The effect was universal, as the real character of the circumstances was imposing. It was no secret combination, such as this nation had been so often depressed and diseased by, of the basest elements:—the hopes of plunder, the phrenzy of tumultuary commotion, or the low ambition of demagogues. It was the concentration of the best elements—the substantial yeomen and the thriving burghers of the commercial north, armed by the government, and officered by the entire nobility and gentry of the country. The learned professions furnished their liberal *quota* of scholars and gentlemen—the university of Dublin, as well as the law courts, gave eclat and credit to ranks, which may well and truly be honoured with the much abused name of patriot.

This is not the place to enter minutely upon the details of this great incident in our history, or of its progress and consequences. Large bodies of the best citizens of the most civilized nation which history records are little likely to have much political wisdom; a national emergency is easily comprehended; long grievances and sore oppression require little exposition; but an army, even of patriots, is a bad council of state. The sense of power—the conviction of having done good—the consciousness of patriotic aims—imparted to forty thousand armed men an impression of political importance. They soon reached the limit which separates influence from armed dictation; their influence, it is to be admitted, was, even from the first, mainly due to their attitude of force; but this, for a time, was a tacit impression, and supported with the utmost seeming of undisciplined forbearance; they presently assumed a tone of conscious importance; they raised

their demands, and spoke as men who could not be well denied. They also outlasted the constitutional period of their existence, and became an object of apprehension to their best friends, and of justifiable suspicion to the government.

But they are here only noticed as the sign and development of a growing spirit of resistance to a pressure inconsistent with the actual condition of the country, and with that sense of independence mainly caught from England, and already transfused among the educated and commercial classes; though the contagion of their example, of the language they used, and of the bold attitude they assumed, vastly accelerated the gathering spirit of the time. A large section of the house of commons was composed of their officers—their leaders were distinguished for their respectability and influence among the lords. They were thus sanctioned, and, at the same time, with difficulty, and imperfectly restrained. The temperate firmness of Charlemont, the dexterity of administration, the liberal and fair concessions then made to Ireland, and their own oversights, gradually brought them to a fortunate end; but the effect remained. The opposition in parliament, as well as the constituency by which it was maintained, had greatly grown in numbers, concert, and power. Other influences gradually were poured into the mass of intractable elements which must accompany such a state of things—the spirit of resistance cannot be confined to the good and wise. Disaffected feelings and revolutionary tenets began to breathe throughout Ireland, as in England, and throughout Europe. Many incidents and events, here necessarily omitted, occurred, to alarm the apprehensions of the British cabinet. One, comparatively trifling, has been supposed to have had a critical and determining effect. This was the regency question, in 1789, on which occasion the Irish parliament took a high and irrespective course, which is thought afterwards to have mainly operated on the Pitt administration in the introduction of the union. The political incidents which followed this event, may be regarded as appurtenant to the history of the United Kingdom. A general statement of its most prominent social and moral consequences, must presently obtain a place in these preliminary reflections.

Constitutional changes in England.—Looking back to the elementary conditions stated in the commencement of this introduction, and looking on revolutions as great social convulsions which either abate certain barriers to human progress, or restore, from age to age, the balance between the growth and the due control, the enlarging and the coercive powers of a state, the proposition will be very clearly understood,—that the permanency of any system of government, in a highly improving country, must depend on the concurrent provision for change, which is to be found in its legal and constitutional polity. It is evident that, were it possible for a just system of government to throw out new provisions, and to throw off old ones so as to secure a precise adaptation concurrent with the entire alteration effected by time upon a nation, there would be far less occasion for the great revolutions which are the main events of history.

The constitution of England was no sudden growth of human invention, constructed by that shallow ingenuity which conjures up from

the floating confusion of present events, systems which the unanticipated future is to sweep away in the torrent of change. It was the slow growth from the accumulated sagacity of ages which, in England, alone, perhaps, was enabled to assert its free action upon the course of political progress. The "wisdom of our ancestors" is an old phrase which the visionary speculation of the last generation has sneered out of our language: the sober, grave, and imposing fanaticism of theory, looks with a sense of delusive superiority upon the slow and cautious judgment which is content to follow the course of time, to build upon the foundations of the past, and to lay down its lines within the compass of its real experience. In this we can see the same spirit and the same results as may be traced in all the departments of human knowledge—speculation after speculation blowing up its sparkling and evanescent bubbles along the mighty stream—while systems of unconjectured reality are growing together, the result of innumerable incidents, and workings, and intellects, all apparently tending and striving different ways. The British constitution can be traced in the History of England from remote reigns, in the well-combined, well-balanced, and, fortunately timed strivings and collisions of political elements in a moral and intellectual medium which would seem to have been tempered by Providence for the purpose of bringing forth and nurturing the growth of liberty. The same steady, resolute, and cool nature that characterized the disciplined heroism of the field of Waterloo, is even singularly conspicuous along the whole line of events, from the field of Runnemede to the crowning era of the Bill of Rights. Not by the ascendancy of that popular dictation which has latterly been asserted in random speeches, but by that transfusion of a popular sentiment of justice and liberty which is the essential spirit of the British character, however modified by local and accidental influences, or by the universal tendencies of human nature. The people of England has not been merely represented in the house of commons, it has always existed within the walls of parliament; and the spirit by which it is cemented and animated transfuses a cordial warmth even upon the throne. But we overshoot our purpose. The peculiar principle which we had here designed simply to exemplify is, indeed, best to be understood by contemplating the popular character of all our institutions.

Among the causes which have neutralized the disorganizing influence of revolution in England, is mainly to be reckoned the elasticity of its constitution. When nicely analyzed, every main portion of it will appear to contain, in itself, some provision for the uniform and regular advances of the general condition of the people. The nearly unprecedented rapidity of these advances has, indeed, been such as to render unusually evident some of the principles of this adaptation. We cannot enter upon them here; they cannot be discussed without some digression from our main purpose; they may, however, be briefly exemplified in the dormant efficacy of a considerable portion of the executive power of the state,—much of which will, on examination, be observed to be contingently provisional; and, hence, to be dependent for its activity on the necessity for which it is provided. The mere consideration that nearly the entire of our legal processes

must take their beginning, not from the despotic discretion of the state, but from private will, may enable the reader to follow out the principle to a great extent. Thus it is, that the law rules, and rules in unison with the exigencies of the time. Thus, laws are wisely measured; and thus they die away by processes merely constitutional. In stating this example—for it is but one of many similar considerations—it is necessary to add, that such principles are too essential not to be in different degrees universal. The principles of law are the principles of society, and must be found variously combined and modified in all its forms. Nor is it necessary to suppose them understood by either the makers or the dispensers of law—the contrary is, indeed, a fact too notorious. The adaptation of these principles to the wants of mankind is suggested by visible exigencies, and is, for the most part, but partial and imperfect. So far as human councils are concerned, the world is governed with little wisdom. It would be a curious, but a nice question, to show the course of causes and effects by which—in proportion as the progress of the commerce and the arts of life is peaceful and prosperous—the adaptation of constitutional principles tends more and more to the most whole and perfect development. But these are, perhaps, hazardous generalities.

It is a consequence of the peculiar condition thus described, that we cannot in the summary manner which some of our readers may expect, state the more nice and gradual steps of the changes which the same public events have effected in England. In Ireland, and to a great extent in other nations, the main transitions have been summarily produced by the immediate operation of some visible coercion. In England they have grown as from the powers of nature; and those leading events which appear in other countries in the form of causes, as plainly appear there as effects. In other countries, the history of these constitutional changes is to be written in that of their main revolutionary struggles. In England mighty struggles have come and rolled away like those tempests which rock our walls and terrify the night, and in the morning are past, leaving no trace on the calm and cheerful prospect.

The political history of England, when closely analyzed, is the history of her factions, parties, and administrations,—a vast, diversified, and unexhausted field, rich in all the possible examples of human nature, whether in its aggregate or individual workings.

We shall next state at greater length than would be quite convenient in the course of any of the succeeding memoirs, our view of some great party changes which were to have a momentous influence in the events of our own time, though they are, in principle, to be traced as the growth of that interval which is to be comprised in this immediate division of our work.

General party changes.—In some one of the memoirs, in the previous division of this work, we offered some explanation of the remarkable change of position and opinions, which many writers have noticed, as having taken place in the two main parties commonly known as whig and tory. We there endeavoured to explain how, by the natural progress of opinions subject to the influence of events, these two great parties gradually have changed ground without any real change of principle or character. The fleeting succession of atoms of which

parties are composed would, in the natural cycles of action and reaction, have replaced each other with affections and opinions which revolve in no very wide circle; like the movements of the solar system, their retrogressions and stations are but apparent, and each has, in fact, been moving onward in the course of nature. We have next to notice the far more important influences which have remarkably modified and complicated this simple movement. Our problem of moral forces and agencies is affected by perturbations far less simple than those of the physical world. It is generally known that the revolution of France was accompanied by a vast storm of opinions and theories, such as might well be expected to arise from human speculation in a wild attempt to usurp the functions of time and human nature, and to break up and reorganize the social state. The restraints of society cannot be thoroughly unloosed without first throwing aside the moral and spiritual checks of religion. Philosophy, in its madness, invested itself with an imaginary omniscience, and, as a natural consequence, brought forth atheism in the most monstrous forms, but yet, speciously dressed up in all the varied attractions which licentiousness possesses for the inferior classes of mankind, or which theories, systems, and sentiments, ever have for the heated and visionary; it is also well known how these theories were diffused among the surrounding nations; how they were caught up by artful agitators to inflame the populace, and by turbulent fanatics with the mad enthusiasm of opinion—how also the spread of disaffection and infidelity, thus caused throughout the nations, was seized upon by persons of a far different stamp, the keen and specious infidels of the school of Hume, Gibbon, and Voltaire, as weapons of political warfare. And more tremendously effective weapons were never forged in the cavern of discord. The ravings of blasphemy and sedition, and the wild hallucinations of a most baseless and unsubstantial philosophy soon passed away, as such follies and dreams must pass from a country like England. But the subtle mischief has its root in human nature; and infidelity, the *inborn taint*, became developed, diffused, and vitally interwoven with radicalism.

For the quick spread and dissemination of this contagion none of the great parties was to be blamed. It spread among the vulgar, and was scattered by the basest tongues and pens. But the *effect* which it produced fell in well with the policy of the whigs: a virtuous and, in the main, not unwise policy, till it became thus almost unconsciously affected with this element of division and disease. The writings of this party now became plainly tinged with an infidel tone, and all the resources of the press, reviews, pamphlets, and even public institutions, were broadly stamped with its character. The cautious and statesmanlike speech could be traced to its purpose by the more broad and daring statement of the periodical essay. The legislative policy, maintained by wise and not unjust arguments, could be referred without much difficulty to the known private views of the proposer. The whigs had ever been ready on all occasions to join in every attack upon the church, but their motives had formerly been referrible to their general tenets of religion. Now, however, there began to pervade all such attacks a tone of a very different kind—a language which contained the clearest implication of the untruth of all religion. Arguments in

behalf of toleration, and liberty of conscience, were so selected, and so expressed, as to make these important blessings of freedom depend on the principle, that all religions were equally true or false, and that the legislator should in no way be actuated by any sense of religious obligation.

But our business here with this unfortunate change is simply to point out its remarkable effect on the state of parties. An influence of a high order was thus infused into the mass of party strivings. The sense of religion, not confined to party, became thus a decomposing element in the combination of the liberalist parties. The anti-religious movement had become too perceptibly defined to be mistaken, and conscience could not any longer continue secure in connivance.

Concurrently with the influential cause thus stated, there were others far more on the surface, which operated to a considerable extent. There was that indefinite working of opinion attendant on every great public question, by which, in the course of time, a balance between contending arguments is produced in numerous minds. A greater number still were maintained in a middle position, by a sense of interests, while their connexions or religious views might have weighed in the opposite scale.* Many whigs began to perceive the interminable prospect of an ascending series of demands on the side of the extreme party at their back, while numerous tories, emancipated gradually from the conventional prejudices of an old party, became anxious to arrest encroachment and complaint, on fair grounds of constitutional equality.

Among the whole of this large and variously affected cloud of persuasions, a gradual sense began to arise of the great truth of a broad and comprehensive movement, wholly independent of the objects or interests of classes. It began to be felt that many ancient strongholds were dissolving, and that time was fast shifting the great questions of the last century. It began to be seen, by those who could see, that interests once small and separate had been enlarged—that the most insignificant party connected with the movement was the part of a mighty and irresistible whole, that could no more be turned back than the tide. Some few recollected that there was a higher overruling power, and that right and truth must prevail.

A new party sprung up—mainly, we believe, from the ranks of the whigs, and grew up by slow degrees. This new party existed without a name, or a principle of concentration, simply in its materials—partly lingering among the whigs, and partly seceding to the tories, and spreading on every side, unforeseen and silent, while it appropriated the common sense of the nation. It was, indeed, rather a constituent portion of the public mind than a party; but we use this term for conciseness. To make the notion familiar, most persons will recollect the common boast of being called a "tory among the whigs, and a whig among the tories"—persons who were zealous for catholic emancipation and

* It would not, consistently with our sketching method, be easy to give examples. On the subject of interested motives, there are some highly curious and instructive. Many protestant country gentlemen evinced a very earnest desire to rid themselves of tithes, until it began to appear that the same arguments which were advanced against the tithes, soon became as efficacious and as convincing when objected to rents.

fierce against radical reform. Thus, the elements of a great future party continued to gather numbers and force, unmarked by any name, and, for a long time quite unrecognised by those who were active in the conflicts of party—numbers of them being attached to either, and numbers floating between, without influence, or recognised leaders, or combining principles; and, if at all active in the politics of the time, rather governed by the common movements and leaders, or by the main connexions of the political section to which they might happen to be attached. But when there thus exists a strong infusion of feelings and convictions, adapted in their nature to influence public bodies, and substantially founded in reason and truth, however insignificant they may seem to the crowd who move but at their leaders' beck, or by the guidance of party maxims and prejudices—they will gradually combine with public feeling, and alter the direction of every party. And thus it was that a great middle party has grown up between the two great opposites, absorbing slowly the better portions of both, and, at a future period, to take the place of both, for the purpose of governing and accomplishing the great movement of the following period—when they were to be seen, as it were, standing out from the ranks of whig and tory, to repress, on one hand, the fanaticism of pure liberalism, that would dissolve the social state; and, on the other, to constrain the fierce prejudices that would repress the tide of time, and bind the future to the limits of ancient darkness. But we are passing our bounds; our present business is with the early commencements and influences, of which these are among the many consequences.

Religions.—Among the moving causes adverted to in the foregoing section, none exerted the efficacious power of religion. We do not here mean, however, the direct contentions of hostile sects or churches—though these had, unquestionably, their share in aggravating the general effects, and, to a great extent, served to furnish the occasion and pretext for the spirit of infidelity which characterized the whole movement of the age, and marked with a family likeness its origin in the French revolution.

The spread of infidel principle cast a strong influence over the Church of England. It was soon felt, or imagined to be necessary, by its teachers, to lower the tone of the pulpit to the rationalizing spirit of the age. The pure and plainly-asserted doctrines of the New Testament, of the Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies, were filtered down in a mere system of prudential ethics:—a process the more easy, as other previous influences had long, in a lesser degree, had similar tendencies. To those who would thoroughly comprehend the extreme facility of the transition here spoken of, a few observations may be parenthetically made. We shall be as concise as possible.

If a system were to be devised to remedy the ills of life, to correct the vices of individuals, and the imperfections of society, it would be impossible to conceive so consummate a system of antagonistic influences and provisions as the entire complex of doctrines and morals contained in the whole comprehension of christianity, as it is plainly and simply presented by its Author and first teachers. But for this very reason, that it was, in fact, devised as a remedial system, and, consequently,

one of thorough opposition to the predominating tendencies of human nature—it seems to be a most obvious inference, that there should be in the bosom of society a perpetual struggle against it. Nor is it difficult to perceive that there must be a perpetual current of tendencies, never long—if at any time—interrupted, to lower its tone and to fine away its requisitions. And such will ever be found a well indicated fact. When it becomes less observable in the best framed states of society, it will be still traceable in the conduct and conversation of individuals —at one time deriving a spurious sanction from opposition to the workings of fanaticism; at another, from that shallow and flippant wisdom which is best described as "foolishness with God." Sometimes softening down one tenet and sometimes another, but always in a spirit of adaptation to the wisdom of the world; but, most of all, adopting that peculiar compromise which could not have a moment's existence in any other concern—the formal admission, and practical suppression of the acknowledged truth. Such was the actual conduct of the Church of England during the time to which this introduction belongs. On the inconsistency no remarks need be made—we are concerned in a great effect. The gospel, treated as if it were a mere legal fiction, invented for the purposes of state, obtained on the public mind precisely the place and practical authority of such a fiction. To deny it was indecorous—to attend to its forms, decent—to maintain its *peculiar* and characteristic doctrines, had some contemptuous name. Preachers delivered dissertations borrowed from Epictetus or Tully—the pulpit re-echoed of Academus and the grove, the beauty of virtue, and the prudence of temperance and honesty, and truth was qualified with the language of natural religion (as it is called), and the whole variegated mass concluded with a formal allusion to the gospel, wisely tempered to give no offence to the most fastidious nerves. But we come back to our text.

From a condition of society in which infidel professions largely blended with a state of religion virtually nothing different—not only arose the singular and monstrous phenomenon of a policy, which with one and the same breath acknowledged the church and the gospel, and asserted, in direct contradiction to it, the heathen maxim, that all religions and all churches were the same, and that religious truth was a matter of indifference; that the duties of public men released them, *pro tempore*, from all allegiance to God; that though they should be christians on Sunday, and in church, they might be infidel in council, and in the business of the office or senate. But religion lost its hold—the church languished, lowered its sacred calling, and became degraded in the eye of the community. Vast numbers seceded in search of spiritual light, and the language of the Scriptures was to be only heard by departing from the church which has made the most complete and comprehensive provisions for the diffusion of their purest light. Such was the state of religion in England—the effect, and, by reaction, the cause, of the diffusion of revolutionary tenets.*

* This is true in two very important senses—on neither of which can we now afford to be expansive. It is, in the first place, evident that, in a constitution involving christianity as an elementary principle, infidel doctrines must be, in the most direct sense, revolutionary. But in a sense less immediate, it is also appa-

It was from Ireland that an important, and, we trust, most influential reform, was to arise. The *insula sanctorum* was once again to take its place as a luminary of the west; and a race of christian teachers was to arise and restore her spiritual character to the Church of England. Of this the results are now acknowledged on every side—a new generation have grown up in the fear and love of God, and the light which has diffused itself through every corner of the land, is at length spreading with a rapid progress through England. Its history, however, in this stage, belongs to the present time; and we shall hereafter trace it, with minute detail, in future memoirs of some of those illustrious men who were, under God's blessing, the worthy instruments of a holy cause, and have gone to rest from their labours. We shall also have to trace the steps by which toleration, little consistent with fanaticism, on the one hand—or with rigid formalism, the parent of prejudices, on the other, has at last grown out of the spirit of genuine christianity, which, while it is least of all indifferent about the truth, is also least desirous to be sustained by any species of human tyranny.

Literature, Arts, &c.—Were we engaged in a treatise of an elementary or purely scientific nature, on civilization and the development of those causes by which society has advanced from the earliest times to the present, we should have commenced with those considerations with which, following the common order of historical writings, we are now to conclude. Though in the early origin of social order, it is easy to perceive that the first element is to be sought in the history of religion and law—which must have been identical in their source and primary development—and though commerce offers the next efficient agency in the advancement of social institutions, yet, when we take a starting-point within the scope of modern history, and endeavour to trace the action of ulterior causes, in expanding and giving diffusiveness and effect to the more finished structure of modern civilization, there can be little doubt that the moral and intellectual forces acting on society, must precede the agency of merely political or merely commercial considerations, imbodying in themselves all that still continues to be efficient of prior agencies and social causes.

In the earlier states of civilized society, literature cannot be considered as operating to any considerable extent. It is mainly confined to a narrow, and that not effective, class of persons. The first teachers among the heathen nations—the grammarians and philosophers—were as scattered and separated lights, which shed their pale and ineffective rays in feeble circles—the porch, the academy, or the grove—and glimmered through the surrounding darkness on a few chosen heads. That their teaching produced some influence on their own times, we do not mean to question: it was not that precisely of which we speak; their speculations, so far as they reached, refined and polished the educated,—but they were not knowledge; they had little foundation in reality, and led to nothing. It is also to be admitted, that the philosophy of the ancients had an enormous effect on the early

rent that the mere antipathy to so influential an element of civil power and moral influence as a national religion, should have the effect of exciting a powerful sentiment of antipathy to a state of things involving such a power.

ages of modern Europe; but it was still not what we contend for, but the opposite—a *retarding power*. The religion and the philosophy of the ancients, constituting, as they did, the learning of barbarous ages, corrupted religion, and retarded the advance of reason,—the two great primary elements of improvement.

On the continental nations of modern Europe, these adverse influences operated to their full extent, and in their least mitigated form, until the Reformation first began to break the bonds of spiritual despotism. In England it was otherwise. The sturdy national spirit and fortunate isolation of the land-queen, had never, in the darkest period, wholly submitted to the moral and intellectual prostration of Europe. Whatever instituted forms of despotism could effect, there were tendencies generated, and a spirit fostered, which, under the influence of events, and the operation of external causes, placed England foremost in the moral and intellectual, as well as in the political progress of Europe,—the real field on which the great battle of civil and religious, as well as religious and philosophical liberty, was contested and carried to its conclusion. The elements to which these great blessings are to be traced can be found in every chapter of English history alone, in some pure and native form. Of this, so far as we are here concerned, the best evidences are to be found in the vigorous and healthful tone which, from an early period, will be easily traced in our literature, compared with that of France and Germany, our main competitors in progress.

The wonderful genius of Italy, shooting in every direction in bright and palmy grace and fertility, was forcibly suppressed and kept down by the despotism of an irresistible power; and minds which might have changed the face of Europe, were quenched in dungeons, and fettered by edicts. Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo, awakened lights which were to burn in the hands of Newton. Ariosto and Tasso, the bards of ancient Italy, left their spirit to Milton. Shakspeare was the native spirit of the land,—not less manifested in his art, or in the force of his genius, than in his very materials—the rough and racy variety of humours and characters, nowhere to be found but in the people from which his moral colouring and features are drawn; so much so, indeed, that to those who love to speculate upon the national history of change and revolution, we would recommend the study of this immortal poet and his contemporaries, compared with those of other civilized nations in the same period. From the time of Shakspeare, (to go no further back,) it is easy to trace in the British poets and moral writers of each succeeding generation, a regular and steady march of mind, fully adequate to explain the leading character of our political progress, and without which the explanations of writers on the subject are incomplete. The clash of sects and factions, of orders and civil powers—so well described, and traced by some modern political writers to their ultimate results—are but secondary to the great moving regulations and gradually stabilitating power to be discerned in the successive course of our literature. Those poems, and those moral essays, and that general tone of thought, which has been criticised mainly with exclusive reference to literature, is the striking, visible, and, indeed, only indication that is to be seen of the great moving element of all our

progressive changes. In England alone can be seen the gradual development of an orderly and genuine humanity. We have used the word in the sense in which it has been used by M. Guizot, in his eloquent and truly philosophical lectures on civilization. The reader of that excellent work will perceive, that in this we have presumed to controvert his preference, in this respect, in favour of his own country. While he makes admissions in favour of the legal and constitutional pre-eminence of England, he assigns to France a pre-eminence which, we must say, is not quite consistent with the rest of his theory: we must, however, state, that our objection is not so much to his facts, as to the estimate which he seems to have formed of them. His language is the following:—"A different development from that of social life has been brilliantly manifested by them (the French)—the development of the individual and mental existence—the development of man himself—of his faculties, sentiments, and ideas," &c. We do not continue M. Guizot's splendid description, because we do not mean to controvert its direct purport. The brilliant development of the individual tendencies towards letters, sciences, and arts—which M. Guizot, we think, erroneously considers as the "progress of humanity"—we are inclined to suspect, that on a rigid and scientific analysis, for which we have neither space nor time, it would be discovered to be a serious error, which thus divorces "progress of society" from the "progress of humanity." We can here, in opposition, only offer the statement by which we have introduced this stricture. We consider the progress of humanity far more evidenced in the moral elements of minds like those of Johnson, Edmund Burke, Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth, Scott, and his immediate circle, than in the visionary brilliancy and the keen-edged pleasantry of the philosopher and wit of the anti-revolutionary schools in France. The difference is just that between the perfection of the higher and the vivacity of certain inferior faculties. The development of the British mind was pre-eminently *moral*, in the better or colloquial sense of the word: the cultivation of truth, justice, and the domestic affections, on the one true and (almost) exclusively British foundation—that of a pure and unadulterated christianity. The main distinction in favour of France is one highly calculated to mislead a Frenchman, even though a philosopher of a very high order. The progress of *manners* is the eminent distinction of France—*apparent humanity*. It would not, indeed—but that we are reluctant to digress so far—be very difficult to prove that a high-wrought system of manners is more nearly connected with the defects, than with the perfections of humanity. It could be proved from obvious moral considerations, and it could be exemplified in the whole social history of civilized nations. For the first of these considerations, we should find it easy to trace out the immediate connexion between the moral defects of social intercourse, and those etiquettes, forms, and small conventions, which are essential for their counteraction. For the second we should have, in confirmation, to show, that as we recede from the present day, the manners of our ancestors will be found more complex, elaborate, and highly wrought, and also to hold a more important place in the preservation and government of social intercourse. The celebrated anecdote of king Louis and the earl of Stair will occur to many of our readers, and is no bad

illustration of the difference which exists between the manners which arise out of high moral cultivation, and those which supply the want. There have been states of society in which every law of social order would have been wholly disregarded, but for the safety-valves of etiquette—the humanity which lay within the province of the dancing-masters and masters of ceremonies, and all the little barriers of punctilio. For such examples we should, of course, travel back some generations; but our immediate application requires us only to add, that a lively people, superfluously endowed with animal vivacity, must, even by nature, and therefore at all times, stand to a greater extent in need of a conventional system of the minor moralities—the refinements of flattery—the small niceties of sentiment which supply the place of the feelings they seem to express.

There is, it is true, another set of facts, from which M. Guizot's representation is more professedly derived; we mean the singular diffusion of literature among the French people. In France, every man is *un artiste*, "wit, poet, statesman, fiddler and buffoon." Of this multifarious mediocrity, much talent must needs be brought forth; there must be also a vast incentive to individual efforts, where every one feels that the eyes and ears of all France are upon him. But we most directly and uncompromisingly deny the truth of the implied comparison in M. Guizot's language, which assigns any superiority to any department of French literature over that of England; to which, in every department, and with the most even and uninterrupted uniformity, a vast superiority must be assigned in every intellectual attribute of the higher order, and in every successive period. The glory of French literature is the consummation of style, —a distinction to be traced to the same causes as that which has rendered them the most agreeable and graceful people on earth. M. Guizot could not fail to be complimentary to France: but the candour which distinguishes his understanding will not be deliberately unjust to the nation to which France must look for the first and brightest pages of every branch of her literature—her distinguished mathematics—her moral and metaphysical science—her poetry and fiction, now only in their infancy. But this point will derive farther illustration from the observations which we shall presently have to offer upon the progress of literature; we must therefore break off from a digression into which we have been tempted. It is not in these things that the true development of humanity consists; but in the unencumbered and clear enlargement of the inseparable elements of the reason and affections. It is in the rectification of these that the higher attributes of humanity are to be sought. A sound-minded and intelligent British curate has more true wisdom, and a clearer insight into the nature and destinies of man, the objects and happiness of life, and the ends and prospects of society, than Voltaire, Jean Jacques, and the whole concentrated intellect of the *Encyclopédie*. The mind of Burke would well outweigh the philosophy of the French revolution. It is in England that the history of the mind and destinies of man must be traced, from the Reformation to the present moment. There is a necessary and inseparable connexion between religion and virtue—between virtue and sound reason—and between both of these and all social progress. They are

elements which cannot be disjoined, and in no place can these be so reasonably sought as in the bosom of that nation which has been so long the refuge of the vital and purifying element of the gospel.

Among the most evident and universally intelligible evidences of the unwarped, undistempered, and true growth of the mind of the English nation, (and in this we include the whole aristocracy, gentry, and educated classes in the three kingdoms,) may be adduced both the positive indications of the pure, sound, and christian system of morals which pervade all our writers of every class—moralists, poets, metaphysical writers; so that, even among our infidel writers, some of their power is derived from the adoption of the gospel ethics, and the negative indication consisting in the absence of the unprincipled and vague system of philosophy and morals, which has so abounded in the continental schools. The secret of our constitutional stability, and of our comparatively unimpeded progress, may be found in the striking truth, that the ethics of the New Testament have been so diffused into the British mind, as unconsciously to govern and characterize the entire tissue of life and reason. In all places, and under the most corrupted forms, something of divine truth will be found in those who profess to teach the christian religion. A sublime moral, at least, may be found in Massillon, Bourdaloue, &c.; but it is not to our preachers and churchmen that we refer, but to the entire tone and spirit of our profane literature, taken altogether as a body of opinion and thought. Throughout the tissue, truth, justice, and rectified affections, appear in the simplest form, unencumbered by theories and the uncertainty of speculation—rather deriving influence from, than pretending to discover that body of sentiment and opinion which has long been the common sentiment of the British islands. And thus it is that the literature of England—the *result* of its religion—has been a main element in the development of the most advanced state of humanity yet developed. To trace the operation of the spiritual principle in the actual condition of society, is perhaps impossible—certainly not within our present compass. On the mass it is always a latent, and not immediate operation. The "broad way and the green" can, in no state of human society, present more than its reflected light; but in this lies the agency in which we are here concerned. It is not the gospel, as the hope of the follower of Christ that we speak of, but its secondary influences. It supplies the standard of virtue; it affords high examples and unerring criterions, not otherwise known or to be known; it largely governs habits through the medium of early discipline; it keeps alive (however vaguely) hopes, fears, and conscientious motives and scruples, almost universally; and it scatters in every quarter bright and influential patterns of christian life. But all this is not enough for the purpose of our statement; as such, and looking to no further end, the corruption of humanity is too overpowering to the observation, to admit of the satisfactory application of such a view as test or comparison. Sweeping evasions are too easy. Human conduct is everywhere characterized by similar infirmities, beset by similar temptations, and concealed by the same disguises. The human heart, "deceitful above all things," moves everywhere in its cloud of pretences, and there is no human aim that cannot be accommodated with

the specious garb of some nominal virtue. It is the *theory* of virtue that we have here to look to; for in this alone is to be found the *average* amount and limits of attainment. Now, it is to the whole mass of the literature of a country that such a test should be applied. Ethical works only contain the fruits of individual speculation; but literature is, for the most part, shaped to the taste of the nation, and speaks best what that taste is. Such is the point of comparison to which we would direct the reader's notice, and such also is the principle of its application. Even the moral obscuration attendant on the troubled interval between Charles I. and the Revolution, brought forth the mind of Milton, in whose intellectual character, when due deductions are made for pure genius, may be discerned the pure and severe spiritual and moral elevation which lay involved within those turbid elements. The writers of queen Anne's time, various as are their critical merits, present a striking moral front. Temple, Steele, and Addison, the most popular of essayists, ascertain both the moral tendencies of the time, and the essential spirit from which it proceeded. The torch was delivered to Johnson, and to the wits and orators of his day—the entrance of our present division—all writers of one ethical school; for by no other could they have spoken the mind of the British people. Of these men, some were christian by character and profession—all by taste. Such is the first sense in which we consider it essential to regard our literature, in viewing it as a criterion of the true element of progress in England. Christian, in the general sense which we have endeavoured to explain, it is, at the same time, one of the great general indications of progress and change.

Before we enter on a more general view of the same class of indications, we must guard against being supposed to pay too exclusive a regard to those which are merely intellectual. We assent at once to the proposition, that a nation may arrive at a very high degree of constitutional strength—of wealth and foreign preponderance, without a proportional advance in *literature*. There should be some important deductions to make, but we shall not enter on the question; it has no immediate application. In England, all the departments of literature rose by a uniform progress to their very highest state; and we proceed here on the principle that the indication thus afforded is the least liable to deception.

In the opening of our period, the literature of England was as a blaze of light. Though considerably below the point (perhaps the maximum) which it attained in the commencement of the present century, it had reached a height unprecedented in the history of modern Europe. To understand this according to our true intent, it must, however, be observed, that we are not speaking of the production of works of great genius—a consideration not in any way here involved—but simply of the general condition of literature, as estimated from its average results. The wide-spread taste—the numerous scholars, poets, and orators—the rising school of art—then was the triumph of oratory and of historians unrivalled in modern or ancient nations. Hume, Gibbon, Robertson, Fox, Pitt, Burke, Pope, Johnson, Goldsmith—the constellated light of the Turk's Head—itself a splendid development from Will's coffee-house. At this period, it may

well be doubted whether the capacities of the human intellect had not reached their highest intellectual point. The estimate by which such a question could best be decided, would be complicated with many difficulties, and demand a wide range of comparisons. The process would be one by which the mere diffusion of knowledge, the mere increase of results—with also the vast additions which have been made to the common stock of human ideas—should be distinguished from the consideration in question,—the accomplishment of man's intellectual constitution. To a great extent, indeed, these questions would appear identified so closely as to make the distinction seem a vain refinement; but our present scope requires no notice of these difficulties. The genius of individuals is not to be measured by the entire intellectual comprehension of the present age; with the increase of knowledge the division of labour is improved, and to some extent it is true, that what the public mind gains, the individual loses in scope. It may be well doubted whether, in the entire range of the most eminent, instructed, and refined society of the present moment, the circle at Sir Joshua Reynolds' table could be reproduced—no one will, on consideration, say that it could be excelled. The entire time since his death has not brought forth the intellectual peer of Burke. The peculiar nerve, promptness, the discursive reach and vigour of Johnson has no rival. If this estimate, which we are content to assert—because we do not think it will be denied—be correct, one further consideration will be enough. If we are to estimate the development of humanity by such considerations, no nation has ever yet risen to the same proud level of attainment. They who would pay so untenable an honour to France, have either looked very superficially on the state of that great and splendid people, or they have judged by a scale of humanity which we do not understand, and cannot here investigate. Manners, and the smaller moralities of common conversation, we have conceded; wit, grace, both in conversation and writing, and all that contributes to smoothen the collisions and refine the common concourse of the world, from the monarch's court to the polite conversation of the stalls and streets, is the undisputed pre-eminence of *la belle nation*. These are, to a great extent, the elements of that illusory humanity which has imposed on French statists. But looking to the actual amount of evidence in favour of their comparative preference, it will, in the first careful glance, appear, that it must include a vast mist of false, unregulated, and vague philosophizings on false data, and on no data, eminently characteristic of undisciplined intellect. The philosophical invention of the French was profuse and brilliant, because it was repressed by no caution, and not confined by any regard to realities; while that of England was the slow but sturdy growth of successive confirmations—the patient development of experience. The theories of the revolutionary philosophers—full as they are of striking eloquence, of clever and just thoughts, and of *incidental* wisdom, founded on no true facts, and assuming a wide scope of licentious fallacy—have struck no root in the intellect even of France. With little exception,* they have passed into oblivion, having contributed as little

* The exception, indeed, is unnecessary; the economists are not to be confounded with the political projectors of the revolution.

to the political wisdom of the succeeding generation, as the crimes and horrors to which they gave their transient share of impulse, advanced their prosperity and power. When this discordant crowd, and all their brilliant frost-work of opinion, system, and mere eloquence, is reduced to its truth, and to its real share in the advancement of humanity, it will be easy to do critical justice. Nearly the whole of the great and various foundations of modern science might be also excluded, for very opposite reasons, from the same estimate. They fall to a large extent under the class of external results. So far as these remarks apply, the consideration is confined to the moral and social expansion of the public mind; as the precise point for which we have contended, is not that our national development has been larger or more brilliant, but more in strict conformity with truth, reality, the nature of man, and the design of his Maker.

In looking to those external results of human reason—that is to say, the advancement of the arts and sciences—we do not mean to pursue the comparison further than to observe that it would terminate equally in favour of England. To England the history of modern science must trace its beginnings, and it is in these that the higher elements of human reason will be mainly traced: they more surely imply patience, forbearance, comprehension, judgment, and a just election among the thousand ways of error. The rest are more common and inferior powers. We should be sorry, indeed, to be thought to disparage the illustrious school which has consummated the astronomy of Newton. But the progress of humanity and the advance of discovery are not simply convertible terms. There is, to be sure, a connexion, but it is one not of principles but results; every incident of the human state in some way may affect the whole complex of humanity. If any of our readers should be led to follow out a subject which we must here drop, there is a suggestion which he will find of some use. The first error to which the comparison of different departments of intellectual effort is liable, is the confusion of the *mere degree* of any talent with its elevation in the scale of excellence. Another—a similar error would be between the importance of *results* and the *powers* by which they were attained.

The more appropriate consideration of the intellectual and social advance of England during the period on which we are about to enter, rejects all such investigations. We could not pass without comment an authoritative statement, which, to some extent, involves the justice of our general view of the moral and social character of this period. The reign of George III. was the development of the moral and intellectual instrumentalities, from which the vast expansion of all the elements of social progress, which characterize the present generation, have their source and origin. The full discussion of these would be desirable, and we should enter diffusely upon the varied branches of consideration thus distinguishable, were it not that there is nothing to our purpose that it will not become desirable again to bring under notice in the course of the ensuing memoirs. And it is for this reason that we here confine our discussion to the most general considerations affecting the period. The great events which seem to have given their

stamp to the age—enormous and vast as their influence has been—have, perhaps, more than can be easily calculated, been secondary to other far less perceptible agencies, of which they are in reality the effects. Of these, as we have endeavoured to show, the best measure is to be found in the state of literature and the arts, the only certain records of an age. There was, in the interval of time under our special notice, a vast and apparently sudden growth of intellectual activity, both in England and France, though subject to different laws of action, and working in different directions. As the one was unrestricted, and in its rude overflow carried away the fixed barriers of human progress, and led to no *direct* result; the other advanced under the strictest control of those elementary and essential social laws, by which alone, in any known instance, national progress has been attained; and the largest portion of individual freedom, and popular privilege, which ever yet have been combined, has been the eventual result. We are to look for the elements of our moral state, as a people, in the family and court of George III., and in the still increasing prevalence of our christian teaching in the press and pulpit; our rational sense of constitutional freedom in the long series of our able constitutional judges and lawyers, as well as in the genius of public men, whose well-known writings have given a tone to political sentiment—Locke, Somers, Burke, Mackintosh—and the constellation of which they are the eminent stars. Even our arts and wonderful attainments in the practical applications of natural philosophy to social ends—though they appear peculiarly as the offspring of the present—though we seem to have made a sudden ascent beyond the remotest calculation of our fathers—it is yet clearly traceable to the broad foundation which was their undoubted work. Let us pause to contemplate this fact; for its consideration is instructive.

In later times, from the commencement of the present century, the vital fire of social existence, knowledge, having long progressed slowly and interruptedly through numerous stages of advance and retardation, appears to have been exhibited to an intensity of light beyond the conception of our ancestors. The furnace has gained a white heat—and new and marvellous gleams and irradiations are ascending on every side, and changing the whole aspect of the social state. Old times and old thoughts are hourly losing themselves in the blaze. Either to conjecture the probabilities of discovery, or to set limits to its advances, would be hazardous and daring; and still more venturous to pretend to trace the vast and illimitable scope of results. England already concentrates into a city; and, looking to its tendencies, Europe approaches toward the forms of a vast democracy. We already look as from a lofty eminence on the times distinguished for illustrious men. But if any one who is competent to the task—and it does not involve more than a certain general amount of scientific information—will follow out to their origin the varied inventions and discoveries which have changed the entire condition of the British people—the steam-boat and the railway, and the wide range of resource for public convenience and utility—while he will unhesitatingly confess the yet unmeasured vastness of their importance and of their effects, he will see

that they are by no means the result of any commensurate degree of intellectual power: and following on in the same path, he will soon ascertain that they are best described as results of long discovery, expanded into life by the development of the external form of society itself: not the genius, but the wealth; not the compass, but the direction of knowledge. The point to be observed is this: there must be first attained a certain state of social expansion, to afford scope for numerous applications of invention. The demands of luxurious affluence, or of the most expansive commerce, and the application of that wealth which is their cause and effect, are the essential conditions for the development of the refined and expensive improvements of modern skill. The structure of a large two-masted vessel would be beyond the wants and means of the pastoral state,—the costly machinery of the steamer and the railway, the augmented powers of all the implements of production, demand the resources and supply the wants of a civilized nation. Until a certain amount of means and demands had been called into existence, the experiment which absorbed millions of capital could not be made, though the conception lay on the surface, an unproductive and not very profound speculation, to be called ingenious by the informed, and visionary by all beside. A moment, however, arrives, in which a certain ascertainable increase of demand becomes visible to the intelligent eye of commerce—an enlarged scope for investment calls forth at once both the money and the contrivance.

It is in the acceptation of these remarks that we refer all the great distinctions of modern art and improvement to the far more exuberant and far-reaching genius of previous generations. The day of the Pitts, Fox, Sheridan, Wilberforce, Johnson, and Burke, in which there was a mighty fermentation of the human genius, and an illumination in every direction, shone in its meridian, while great national prosperity was at the same time calling into existence, and fostering a large accession of numerical increase to the middle orders, who properly constitute the people. From such a state of intellectual power, and such a condition of the people, grew the peculiar splendours and substantial attainments of our own time, in literature and art, as well as in the former respects. The demand for the luxuries of literature, as well as for its more solid acquirements, was largely increased—lighter publications, as well as more various grades of excellence, found a fast-increasing market—the periodical, which was an augmentation of the power of the pamphlet—something analogous to the power-loom—was adopted, and added the very lightest species of literature, till then conceived, to the ancient purposes of popular publication. The public journal, in like manner, expanded both in scope and talent. The growing demand for political information eventuated in the publication of the debates. Keener interest and increased impulse were given to these processes by the revolutionary excitements which we have described in the beginning of this sketch; and the causes now stated, gave, of course, added power to those political impressions.

The revolutions sustained by literature, considered in itself, were not less traceable. Style had been completed; the various methods

by which the reason, fancy, and feeling, could be worked upon, had all been developed with skill: a metaphysical school of great compass had grown up; and, though of no value in its distinct results, yet such as to contribute a powerful addition to the force and resources of human reason, it increased intellectual expertness, and gave precision to moral and critical thought and language. A *reading public* rose into existence, not contemptibly furnished in any of the ordinary attainments of human cultivation. Of this the consequences were various and extensive. New and comprehensive experiments in poetry were made, by the adoption of new styles and new elements; and all the varied resources of constructive art were happily combined with the most daring efforts of conception, by the genius of Scott, in a series of fictions in prose and verse, which have stamped the literary character of his time, while their success affords the best illustration of our theory. It demanded a large market and a wide extension of the reading classes, to pay the £120,000, or more, which was the total purchase of his labour. But these considerations are only here brought forward to illustrate our sense—they belong to a future statement.

Literature, Arts, &c., in Ireland.—The state of Ireland, in respect to its intellectual condition, during the same interval, is not such as to demand much separate remark. We cannot immediately trace it into a connexion with the general advance of society, with the same evidence and simplicity as in our previous observations. Though analytically viewed, the same elements must always tend to the same results; yet it is only when the operation is considered in its extent, and in some measure disengaged from the action and interruption of other active social processes, that it can be followed out, without diffusive, tedious, and minute refinements. Such we are anxious to avoid.

In Ireland, the state of society, with respect to manners, morals, and education, was such as must be difficult to convey briefly to any but an Irishman whose memory can recur to a state of things now nearly, if not wholly, passed away. It was not such as may be summarily referred to any point in the scale of human progress; though, were such a comparative estimate demanded, we should, upon the whole, be rather inclined to assign a low degree of civilization. The widely desolating waste of the great rebellion, may, in a manner, be said to have swept away the moral and intellectual germination of the previous period of quiet and progressive advance; nor was there any interval of steady progress to repair the broken and suppressed processes of human advance, till the revolution of 1688 came on, introduced by a sanguinary struggle, and succeeded by the ponderous and spirit-crushing policy of government, which was the sure and hapless consequence of such a previous succession of events. The population was scanty and barbarous; nor were the gentry much above them in the higher and more important respects. Their highest accomplishments were but the refinements of barbarism or of vice. The point of honour was, generally speaking, their only characteristic and distinguishing virtue. Their tastes were gambling, drinking, and a profuse hospitality, crowned and adorned with these prominent qualifications; their main pursuits, cattle-farming and field-sports. The

most absolute potentate in any civilized state had less power than the country gentleman exercised over his tenantry: these, in many parts of the country, where the Celtic character chiefly prevailed, looked up to their lord with a veneration which even much injustice could not destroy. It was augmented in those cases where the *master* chanced to be of the old stock, and of the same church with themselves, but extended to all cases with the universality of national habit. It was, however, combined with some moral features, now, in a great measure, corrected by the effects of subsequent changes. The affection of the cottar was largely tempered by dissimulation: while his fears, hopes, and natural sense of his own interest, compelled him to flatter and crouch to his tyrant, he was not insensible to his degradation, and still less so to the insults with which kindness itself was but too often qualified. From this strange and unhappy combination of conditions was tempered a national spirit, which, having been unfairly interpreted without regard to its causes, has grown into a national reproach against the race. Much of this reproach must be also qualified by other considerations, of which the chief was the absence of instruction and example. The peasant's knowledge of right and wrong was defective in an extreme degree, and the manners and conduct of the gentry were such as to throw no light on the surrounding obscurity. The noble sentiments of truth, honesty, and honour, in the more civilized sense of the term, are not the spontaneous produce of uncultivated human nature. The state of things, thus summarily described, was variously modified by a species of intercourse which subsisted between the peasant and his master, which was much calculated to counteract those repulsive influences which we have mentioned. The gentry, and especially the younger sons of their families, entered largely into the sports of the peasantry, and excited among them feelings of good-will, and often of enthusiastic partisanship, by superior prowess and dexterity in the field,—the more so that, in the Celtic districts, the gentry belong to a more robust and muscular race than the peasantry. It was then an object of no secondary importance in the estimation of a district which lay under the shadow of a noble house, how far its members could jump or cast the half-hundred weight; and if any one was endowed with any extraordinary gift of agility or strength, it was enough to ensure universal reverence. Such instances were talked of with enthusiasm in the traditions of the third or fourth generation. The fame of *Rory More*, one of the O'Connors of the county of Roscommon, is yet flourishing in his native county; and, in our younger days, we can recollect the almost Homeric style in which old men, then living in our own immediate district of that county, used to speak of the heroic recollections of their youth, and the degeneracy of the existing time.

The gentry, in like manner, in their own peculiar customs, were largely associated with a clan-like following of their tenantry and cottars; and this gave something of a primitive character to the feuds and animosities which prevailed among the principal families in most of the counties of Ireland. Of this description were the sanguinary quarrels between the Brownes and Fitzgeralds of the west, and numerous others whom we could name. The despotic squire, no longer in-

vested by lawful right with the privileges of a chieftain, to some extent retained them by influence, and by the tenure of popular prejudice, and was tempted to exercise them on a scale too narrow to come distinctly within the notice of a lax administration, mostly exercised in a spirit of connivance. The exercise and the redress of private wrong were frequently pursued by measures equally violent and illegal, and it was no uncommon incident to see gentlemen invade each other's houses at the head of a tumultuary force.

This state of society, more barbarous than the primitive clanship from which it had degenerated, was also curiously characterized by a spirit of aristocratic pride, in which even the peasantry participated, after a peculiar manner,—the lowliest cottar seeming to feel himself exalted in the house of the great family which his father and grandfather had followed. The "rale sort" was an emphatic phrase to express the distinction due to a gentleman of ancient and honourable descent; and the utmost contempt which the peasant's heart could feel, or tongue express, was his scorn for the upstart gentility of low degree. This spirit may, in part, be resolved into the love of grandeur and majesty which has often been attributed to the Irish, but there is here a more distinct and intelligible reason,—the entire absence of the commercial spirit, with its consequences. There was no class of wealthy traders to offer an independent front against the feeling here described, and to present a different standard of popular estimation. There was no degree between the peasant and the aristocratic gentleman, unless that which was held by the tenure of those low accommodating vices and meannesses which could secure the confidence and favour of the lord, or by some small official elevation, of which arrogance and oppression were the most important distinctions. Thus arose an impression of dislike and scorn among the people, for all the pretensions which were unstamped by the sanction of aristocratic birth. An exaltation consequent on *acquired* wealth, referred to this peculiar scale, was the spurious gentility of the *upstart*—for there was in the popular mind no other category to which it could be referred.

Such was the state of the popular spirit which must perhaps be regarded as indicative of the real internal advance of Ireland, towards the end of the 18th century.

But a country, fastened by many links to the march of another more advanced, and moving by a different rate of progress, must necessarily offer many remarkable irregularities. The highest tone of refinement, generated by the wealth of England, and the standard of politeness by which its highest classes were regulated, was infused by numerous channels of communication, into the aristocratic circles of this country; in which, taking a higher tone from the national influences heretofore described, they were augmented and set off by numerous native characteristic peculiarities. With us, the pride of aristocracy was not counterchecked by the rivalry of independent industry, learning and genius, or by the useful acquirements and strong cultivated common sense of a wealthy commercial people, but towered freely over the surrounding level, and threw out absurdities and graces of its own.

The first remarkable condition of our Irish intellectual state at that

time, is in a high degree characteristic of the very peculiar state of the country. Its knowledge, manners and literature, like its laws and institutions, were substantially English. The perpetual oscillations of a lingering revolution of eight centuries—a disease of infancy kept alive till old age—had circumscribed to a narrow circle the progress of humanity. The prejudices and animosities of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, loaded the very atmosphere of the eighteenth, and sequestered the lower ranks of Irish from all other people. The upper classes were at the same period moving side by side with England, though perhaps with many disadvantages. They had also some advantages not so easily explained, in the very extraordinary prevalence of those peculiar talents, by means of which, intellectual cultivation imparts a tone to social intercourse. Boundless wit, and a sparkling and profuse facility of diction; great vivacity of temperament, and facile affections—these were perhaps the indigenous growth of the land. The long combination of two distinct races, oppositely characterized, had blended into a happy combination the prominent qualifications of both; this too imparted a distinction—they met in the thorough Irish gentleman.

Within the circle thus marked there was a concentrated effusion of wit, genius, and cultivated manners. The bar, the parliament, and the university, were the luminous centres of all that extensive knowledge, intellectual power, and refined intercourse, could impart to society. The genius and the intellectual attainment of that period are now very much liable to be underrated; the vast expansion of intellectual cultivation in both countries, is apt to impress a fallacious estimate on our conception of the pretensions of the former generation. But, as we have already noticed, the individual development is not enlarged in a concurrent ratio with the progress of society; that equalizing principle, of which we have said so much, is not restricted to external circumstances which involve wealth and commercial industry; it affects the intellectual constitution by a similar law. The extension of knowledge, like that of art, produces a necessary division of labour; every branch of science, and every department of research, grows by degrees too complex and wide for the grasp of individual capacity on the duration of human life. And thus an enlarged system of intellectual labour grows, and, while it employs a large portion of the public mind, circumscribes individual effort; thus, by an evident process, superseding and in consequence diminishing much of the power of invention and intellectual resource. At the period of which we speak, it was the ambition of a cultivated mind of the highest order, to have made the circuit of the entire or chief realms of the whole compass of human thought; and in the writings and speeches of the greatest men, will be found a range of materials and an accumulation of attainments, to which it would, now, be nearly ridiculous to pretend. Indeed, it is from a similar application of these considerations that we might explain the secret of that uniform adaptation between the period and the man, which has so often been observed. This is a fact which may find considerable illustration in our history; for, as we proceed in the following lives, there will be observed a very remarkable conformity in the genius of our most eminent men, to the national circumstances

which gave occasion to their public career. The characteristic eloquence of the country, may, to some extent, be thus explained—in the public transactions of the Irish administration, the perfunctory precision of a more advanced constitutional state did not yet exist to supersede private effort; the range of business was not so great as to prohibit the waste of wit and fancy, which adorned and relaxed the labour of public affairs. These qualifications were perhaps heightened by the intermixture of some slight tinges of the barbaric freedom of the hour; the social circle was not so enlarged and cultivated by refinement as to repress peculiarity. The conventional restrictions of modern taste did not exist to subdue the brilliant ebullition of generous natures. A large affusion of inferior cultivation—if we may so speak—the transition manners of a more popular caste which broke in upon, and in every quarter blended with, those of one more cultivated and refined, gave a singular expression of freedom, spirit, and humour, to the compound. There was an atmosphere of spirit, invention, adventure, and unconstrained fervour, favourable in the highest degree to the growth of man's individual character. It was a time and a state of things in which nature asserted all her rights and all her powers in the formation of men. To men thus nurtured, political affairs offered a boundless supply of stimulus and field of effort. The tone of nationality, inherent in the Irish people, was additionally promoted by its small circle of action—even prejudices were maintained on the simple ground of ancestral and hereditary claim—the ties of kindred were interwoven with transmitted maxims, antipathies, and prepossessions. The sympathies of life were quick and vivacious, and he must have been a dull rhetorician who could not touch them.

To give its utmost fertility to the soil thus overcharged with the elements of produce, education bore its ample part. The University of Dublin, standing as it did, alone—the sole resource in Ireland for the higher branches of learning—performed the united offices of both English universities. As a school of divinity, classical literature, and science, not inferior to either; in the compass of her acquirements she surpassed both,—evincing the tempered discretion with which she selected the course of her prescribed studies, so as to combine the ancient and modern; preserving the solid and standard writings of antiquity, without being tainted by obsolete prejudices, or the pedantry of erudition; and seizing the real discoveries and improvements of later times, unobscured by the visionary and ephemeral additions of theory. In that time, the university was not more distinguished for the comprehensive adaptation of her system to the state of knowledge and wants of the age, than for the illustrious men whom she produced,—the best and surest criterion of her excellence. Of these, many continued, as fellows, to reside within her walls, and formed that profoundly intellectual circle among whom Burke, the noblest of her sons, and the great ornament of the age, was accustomed, during his residence in Dublin, to retire to look for fit intercourse for his higher powers and nobler aspirations, when fretted by the small collisions and petty intrigues of Dublin politics. The general influence, thus produced among the middle classes, was considerable indeed, and it appears in the highly cultivated talent, and the still classical recollections of the

eminent wits and orators; who, though they are certainly not to be confused with the entire order to which they belonged, yet unquestionably must still be admitted to be just indications of the state of social cultivation, and as the higher specimens of that state of attainment which was regarded as the standard of qualification in the social circles of which they were conspicuous centres.

In the course of some years before the 19th century had far advanced, the state of literature here described had gradually disappeared. It is difficult to avoid connecting this circumstance with the Union, which undoubtedly dissolved many a brilliant circle of the Irish metropolis. But there were other causes equally obvious, though overlooked in the fury of political contention. The tone of the orator and of the public writer is caught from the general state of the public mind—and the entire intellectual cultivation will ever be pitched in unison to the great main design of all effort. The tone of Grattan, Curran, and those with whom they are to be generally classed, was *academical;* there was no pervading commercial intelligence to impose the succinct and formal statements of official despatch; there was no popular mind to vulgarize or to repress that overcharged display that wins the uncultivated heart. There was a highly wrought and over-cultivated tone, to which literature contributed its full stores, and rhetoric all its studied forms. It must be granted, that it was much characterized by redundance and excess. But in these great men it was excess of light—oratory in Ireland then sat throned in state, adorned with "barbaric pearls and gold;" it was *then* the garb and ensign of her power. The name of "Irish eloquence" afterwards became a term of not quite candid reproach, yet it was seemingly well justified by an after change of style. The fact demands some notice: in this, too, the principle of national transition can be traced. When the brilliant life of the last generation passed away, a vast diffusion of popular spirit began to be called forth, and at the same time to give a tone and character to the style of public speaking, by which it was excited. The parliament was succeeded by the arena of agitation, which from thenceforth never ceased. While the national prejudices and religious animosities of the people were worked upon with dexterity, talent, and eloquence, the very same process was infusing gleams of intelligence that were at some period to have a far different operation—while the people were concentrating into a party existence, they began to grow in numbers, as well as intelligence. We are here to point out the *first* effect on the taste and talent of Ireland. The change we have been endeavouring to explain operated disadvantageously on both. That many public speakers during this time are to be distinguished for eloquence, and for nearly all the intellectual powers which it ordinarily calls into action, will not be considerately denied. But their style had become such, as with even unusual evidence to show the characterizing tendency to win the vulgar, at the expense of every principle of good taste and sound judgment. A few eminent intellects belonging to the past—or rather to that higher order of intellects, which in all times tower above the creeping influences of tendency, yet remained to contradict the national reproach. But the populace had become the hearers, and the moment brought forth its own peculiar style. Rival orators

contended in the artifices of rhetoric, and the ornaments of imagination; and in their contention, forgot the subject of their discourse: the highest effort was to overlay the minutest quantum of sense with the richest patchwork of purple rags. Hours were wasted down in the elaboration of sentences which astonished the echoes of the criminal courts; and when published in the papers, were for a time the theme of general wonder: every youthful Irishman who pretended to public talent was, more or less, according to his intellectual gauge, betrayed into the cultivation of his fancy as the great element of public life. The same mass of intellect which now supplies the columns of magazines and journals, with smooth, faded commonplaces in polished verse, then sedulously cultivated a far inferior style of oratory, which the gall of Junius can best describe,—"the melancholy madness of poetry, without the inspiration." Such an epidemic must of course have been on every side limited by the natural intelligence of the human mind. But the cause to which it has been in a chief measure attributed, was itself a result of far more permanent and extensive importance. The popular mind was awakened into intellectual existence,—a fact of which, the boundless importance has not been appreciated; because it has been in a great degree concealed, or rather disguised by incidental circumstances. Thus many will say that a vast mass of prejudice and spurious principle was propagated to lead the popular mind astray, and that the national mind was obscured by opinions more dark than mere ignorance. This may be granted for argument at least. But a more considerate attention will perceive and admit, that in the mean time the *faculties* were brought into an enlarged exertion; the logical faculties began to be trained; the observation roused, and certain general elements of political knowledge, taught. This will be the better understood by considering, that, in the propagation of false conclusions, the main principles used are, for the most part, the general maxims of right and truth which are universally fixed in the minds of men. It is a principle which lies deeply involved under the working of social causes, that error, for the most part, consists in the perversion and distortion of the most important elementary truths, and cannot be propagated far without carrying in its march the light by which it is to be dissipated. The darkness of the middle ages was maintained, not so much by the influence of mere error, as by an external power which arrested and bound the reason: it was not because words supplied the place of principles, but that the progress of inference from any other grounds was sin or treason. The advance of truth which makes the man free is yet not old enough in its progress to be fully understood; and it has not been yet seen that modern delusions have no rooted existence. Reasonings founded on a false basis of fact, and at the same time exposed by a train of results, will not continue to deceive those who have once learned to reason rightly, and to observe shrewdly. A just consideration of this reflection will explain, what a practical acquaintance with the Irish people will not fail to demonstrate, to the dullest observer, who observes rather with his eyes and ears, than by inveterate notions which pass without examination—that their spirit is changed,—a change not to be perceived from afar; because the people are yet everywhere under the

dominion of external influences, forms and conventions, from which the popular crowd can never break, till the force of circumstances set them free. The empire of delusion—while in a last contest, it seems to be repairing its broken bulwarks, and extending anew its demolished outworks—is dissolving silently from within: it is losing its hold upon opinion, even in its inmost citadel; and when the dark edifice of superstition and popular slavery shall have appeared, to those who are now contemplating its advances with dismay, to have gained once more its place of pride—the frowning battlements will have become a shadow. We have chosen thus to express our opinion in types and metaphors, rather than in more express language, because it refers to a state of facts which rather falls within the comprehension of the time in which we live, than of that on which we are about to enter in detail. Yet, having ventured so far, in suggesting the existence of a state of things so wholly out of the contemplation of those who commonly discuss the state of Ireland, we must make a few remarks on the seemingly improbable oversight thus asserted. It seems to have two causes: one, on which it is not necessary to dwell—the miserable condition of darkness, error, and poverty, which affects the wild population of some of the mountain and moorland districts of the country; in some of which the population is purely Celtic, and deeply characterized by all the seemingly irreclaimable features of that race. These districts form a seeming ground of exception to the statement which we have made. A more general fact is this; and, slight as it may seem, it has grown into a consideration of vast importance; it is the superficial character of political investigations in every shape, and on every side. Men look too much to opinions, and too little to realities: they look into reports and journals, speeches and histories, for their facts: they rely on the indications of public meetings, when men do not speak their mind, and where the passions which appear are but the contagion of the crowd,—mere physical sympathies: well instructed in physical statistics, they have no precise knowledge of moral causes. And thus it is, journal answers journal; speech answers speech; and pamphlet answers pamphlet; while few turn a heedful glance upon the working of moral and intellectual principles, the ultimate and irresistible forces of the social world,—as incessant and surrounding as the unseen influence by which the tides observe their stated times. The politician, deeply absorbed in his engrossing game, is to a very considerable extent involved in misrepresentations;—he sets too much value on expedients, and on the peculiar machinery which he holds in his grasp, and has too little reliance on the law of nature, and the power of God.

The same considerations are in a high degree connected with other facts on which we shall not enter at large. It will be enough to say, that the peculiar tendencies, affecting the political sentiments of the Irish peasantry, have not hitherto been identical with the democratic spirit which has been so much noticed as belonging to other countries. A growing advance in the condition of the people—in manners and comforts—has contributed to spread among them a spirit of independence; than which nothing is so likely to emancipate them from the false and servile influences out of which most of their errors and misfortunes have arisen. No man of sound understanding, and in pos-

session of the necessaries and comforts of life, will ever desire to see popular disturbances.

To conclude; as it cannot fail to be observed, that in the statement here offered to our readers, we have broken off at those points, where the practical facts and applications might be expected to follow, we must again point out the peculiarity of our designs, which was to present a rough and summary outline of the characteristic condition of the period on which we are now to enter. It was characteristically a period replete with the elements and workings of a great revolution, the development of which belongs to a further period. A revolution, not effected either by democratic strivings—as has falsely been supposed—or by the expertness of party leaders, or the measures of administrations; but by causes wholly antecedent, of which they are but effects. In adverting to results, we have been reserved; for they are not within our present scope; in the statement of principles we have endeavoured to be as distinct as a necessary economy of space would allow; because the language which we have been forced for clearness to use is preoccupied by all sorts of prejudice.

I. POLITICAL SERIES.

Ulysses Maximilian Browne.

BORN A.D. 1705.—DIED A.D. 1757.

THIS illustrious soldier was the son of "an expatriated Irish officer; he entered the Austrian service, and, by his great skill and bravery when employed against the Turks, rose to the rank of field-marshal. He afterwards greatly distinguished himself at Placentia, and other places in Italy; and at length died of the wounds he had received at the battle of Prague."*

Charles Lucas, M.D.

BORN A.D. 1713.—DIED A.D. 1771.

THE divisions which we have chosen to observe in the order of these memoirs, are now to be connected in the lives of a few distinguished persons who, having attained public notice in the termination of one period, have lived also within the beginning of that which follows. Such memoirs, belonging to two periods, may be disposed so as best to favour the historical purpose to which our biography is but secondary. Lucas—whose professional character, had it particularly demanded any commemoration would properly be placed in our literary division—is here to be noticed on account of his political celebrity; and he is chiefly selected here for the occasion which the principal inci-

* Maunder's Biographical Treasury.

dents of his life present for a slight retrospect, which, with a few additional details in our memoir of lord Charlemont, will connect the historical events related in a former volume, with the more momentous and interesting order of events into which the subsequent memoirs must lead.

The ancestors of Lucas were farmers in the county of Clare. It is supposed that, by misfortune or mismanagement, the property of his family was lost. The earliest notice we have been enabled to obtain of him places him as an apothecary in Dublin. At a subsequent period he took the degree of doctor of medicine. Of his private history the details are few. And we shall, therefore, here proceed to introduce the civil contests in which he bore a distinguished part; and which we consider to have interest both as true indications of an interval in which our history is nearly silent, and also still more importance, as the first steps and faint beginnings of a different state of things. These, as we have suggested, appertain rather to the termination of the former period than to the beginning of the present, into which Lucas lived about eleven years. It is thus that he becomes an intermediate link between the two.

The interval between the revolution of 1688, and the accession of George III., was one of comparative tranquillity, and which offers little to the narration of history. As, upon a general view might be anticipated, this interval was productive of some national growth in the wealth, numbers and intelligence of the middle classes. An advance, however, both concealed, and, to a great extent, retarded and neutralized by the internal abuses—the misgovernment, and the dissensions, essentially belonging to an immature and crude state of society. A most complicated system of abuses prevailed—a powerful aristocracy, consisting of a few great families, possessed an unconstitutional influence, the remains of an unconstitutional power. No longer permitted to bring their followers to the field—they contended to outweigh each other in the scale of faction. To steer between these, to obtain a preponderance by their division, and to govern by means of the secret influences of intrigue, subordination and terror, was the policy of the Castle,—a policy inconsistent with the good government of a well-ordered constitution, but not perhaps without some reasonable excuse in the times to which it is referred.

An immediate consequence of such a state of things was the diffusion of a violent spirit of faction into every institution, and into every public department. There was a pervading influence of abuse, feebly counteracted by a faint spirit of opposition,—principles which, however, were gradually to become more balanced as the public advanced in political growth. There was not yet a sufficient power in the popular elements of opposition—since so enormously accumulated into a preponderance—to give weight and sanction to mere popular resistance. The Geraldine might encounter the Butler —not as of old upon the field, but in the walls of a most corrupt and subservient parliament, with the votes they could respectively muster on the floor; and other great powers, similarly organized, might exercise a similar weight with safety. But, for men like Lucas, it was wholly a different thing. The administration were not compelled to

stand on points of law, or, as has since often occurred, to allow themselves to be evaded and defied from behind the seemingly insignificant intrenchments of form; still less was power deterred from going straight to its victim by any weight existing in public opinion.

To be a patriot then was something—there was neither the stimulus of applause, nor the prospect of self-interest. The man might be mistaken, but his honesty could scarce be doubted. It was his part to brave opposite dangers—the despotism of power, and the animosity of faction, under circumstances in which ambition or the hope of preferment had little to expect. The first appearance of Dr Lucas, upon the public scene, was in the commencement of the growth of that popular spirit which was afterwards, before his death, to make a bold and effective stand against such a state of things.

Having early obtained a dangerous notoriety as a political writer, he was, by the notice on some occasion drawn upon his writings, under the necessity of escaping to the continent. On his return, he was elected a member of the common council, where a field soon offered for the most praiseworthy and honourable, as well as spirited resistance to the encroachments and abuses of the privy council. The Irish parliament had, in compensation for the act of settlement in the reign of Charles II., given up the corporations of Ireland to be most available engines of despotic control in the hands of the administration: and the Irish government, using the advantage to its full extent, deprived the corporation of Dublin of its popular character, by transferring some of its most important powers from the whole body to the board of aldermen,—well indeed considering that such bodies must become more inclined to subserviency, and in every way more manageable, as their powers become vested in a smaller and more privileged circle. We do not presume to say that an alderman is less likely to be an honest man than a common-council man,—looking generally, the contrary is the fact; but one of a small body will always be found more prudential and less bold than one of a multitude. He is more marked; he stands closer to the seat of corruption and corrupt influence; and it is to be confessed, has more tempting allurements. We feel in duty bound to add—though in no way necessary to our immediate concern,—that there is an opposite extreme. Corporate institutions, when they contain too large an infusion of the democratic element, can answer no good purpose: but can only tend to give the same unconstitutional authority to a rabble, as the former to a despotic power. That the effect of this is, no one can doubt, to throw power into the hands of those irresponsible and often unprincipled individuals by whom the elements of disorder are governed, so far as may be. But to proceed: the aldermen, not content with the privileges conferred on them by the stated changes, usurped several rights to which they had no claim—and by these means obtained a degree of influence and authority, which they used for the private ends of providing for their own families, and sharing among themselves every lucrative post.

It was in or about the year 1743, that Lucas and another common-council man, Mr James Latouche—a name honourable in the records of Dublin—entered together into concert for the purpose of withstanding the power of the board of aldermen.

At that time, it appears that the city estate was encumbered to the amount of £30,000—a circumstance which these gentlemen considered as attributable to mismanagement, and perhaps to other abuses of a more exceptionable nature. It was while engaged upon this inquiry, that a new quarry started before their scrutiny. They thought they had discovered that the right of electing aldermen was not in the board; but in the entire corporate body, the mayor, sheriffs, commons, &c. A committee to inspect the city records, was appointed in the common council, with Mr Latouche as chairman. Three reports were brought in, strengthened with the most eminent legal opinions: a suit was brought in the King's Bench, on a motion of *quo warranto* against the last elected alderman; but after a hearing, the court refused to grant permission for an information. The efforts of the common council were thus rendered abortive, and the main confederates were left to sustain the weight of the board's displeasure, which was shown by striking their names out of the triennial returns of common-council men.

A series of spirited exertions on the part of Lucas, which were displayed during the continuation of this contest, brought both himself and his able confederate into great and popular notoriety. In 1740, the death of Sir J. Somerville, the member for Dublin, left a vacancy in the representation, for which Latouche, Lucas, and another gentleman, set up their claims, and addressed the electors. This competition was looked upon with an eye of satisfaction by the aldermanic board, who anticipated the division of their adversaries with no unfavourable eye; and agreeably with such an expectation, the common council quickly began to fall asunder: a division took place, in which the several merits of the respective candidates were maintained by their adherents.

This disunion, however, took a turn unfavourable to Lucas: his antagonist had taken a leading part in the previous contest, and been not only the chairman of the committee, and drawn up the three several reports which had been published on the part of the common council, but the tone which he took in the contest was far more moderate, and less calculated to compromise him with any party. The position which he had thus obtained rendered it necessary for Lucas to go to extreme lengths. While Latouche only questioned the jurisdiction of the board, Lucas arraigned their administration, and thus made personal enemies among a powerful and influential body. Unhappily he thought it essential to his success to go to farther and still more dangerous lengths. Latouche confined himself to the politics of the corporation; but Lucas, in his address to the council, denounced the public conduct of the administration, and assailed the authorities and the parliament, in language which laid him open to the charge of sedition. Lucas was evidently, though by nature endowed with considerable abilities—a man of more heat than discretion; and we can have no doubt, from the comparison of his addresses, that his entire conduct was, in that respect, the result of pure inadvertence: he hoped to distinguish himself over his discreet antagonist, by displaying his zeal for the rights and liberties of the people; and, while acting a popular farce not uncommon among popular men, he overlooked the

ears and eyes of a far more formidable power. In one of his addresses* this sentence occurs, which, as it but more distinctly expresses what is variously and strongly suggested throughout, we may quote as his own sentiment. "If he (Latouche) be a true advocate for liberty, let him show it in setting forth your constitutional rights and liberties." And it was in the full and unqualified spirit of this dangerous defiance that he spoke and wrote. The politic and wary colleague and rival who was thus evoked to plunge, "upon a raw and gusty day," into the dangerous tide of democratic agitation, saw more clearly, or more prudently avoided the obvious peril. But Lucas shrunk from no extreme of daring appeal and defiance; and while he simply looked to outgo his rival in popularity, he roused the apprehension or the policy of the administration. It has, indeed, been argued, from the general quiet of the town and country, as well as from the apparent indifference manifested during these corporation contests, by the Castle and the law-officers of the crown, that no danger was in any way attached to the conduct of Lucas; and that the violence, of which he soon after became the mark, was simply for the purpose of putting him down, and the result rather of a conspiracy among the aldermen than any resentment or policy of government. We have little doubt in combining both reasons. Whatever importance might have been attached by the government to a contest, of which it was the tendency to instil a democratic spirit in the corporation, or to a series of pamphlets and speeches, which, whether well designed or not, were well adapted to diffuse a similar spirit among the people; the elevation of their author to an eminence of far more public authority and influence was, unquestionably, an object to be feared. The success of Lucas in arousing popular sentiment was even surprisingly great; nor do we think it can be a stretch of conjecture to refer the spirit of a period, later by not many years, to his exertion as a main origin. In a country, of which the state was so immature and so replete with all the elements of confusion, and which was, in a measure, governed by a system of (perhaps) necessary abuses, such sentiments, when once fully roused, could never again wholly sink to rest. They are truly like those waves of incidental motion, which Mr Babbage supposes to be propagated, without end, into the mass of undulations with which space is filled.†

On his part, Mr Latouche took the precisely opposite tone: against the abuses, real or supposed, of the corporation, he declared his hostility; but, as to the questions of more general scope, entertained so violently by his rival, he, as distinctly, declared his dissent from his opinions. The connexion between the two kingdoms he viewed as too fixed to be shaken—he denied the dependence of Ireland to be an evil, and pointed out the great and unquestionable benefits of which it was the source—and deprecated, as rash and ruinous, any attempt to awaken jealousies between the two countries. Of the substantial truth and wisdom of these sentiments referred to that time, we can have no doubt. To see the question in a different point of view, it is necessary to commit the very general fallacy of looking on that

* The 14th, page 35. † Ninth Bridgewater Treatise.

period through the history of after times, and applying reasons drawn from a different stage of national, and, indeed, human progress. Ireland was misgoverned; and we much doubt if it could have been otherwise; but it must be admitted, that, under the tyranny—if it will be called so—of "an old and haughty nation, proud in arms," Ireland had, even at this time, arrived at a state of civilization far beyond most of the continental nations, of which the advance had been less interrupted. Ireland had, indeed, passed for centuries through the process which no other country could have survived. It was the firm tie that bound her to the mighty frame of England that upheld and carried her onward on the wave of national vicissitude and progress. The motives of Mr Latouche, like those of most public men, may have been factious; but we think the ground which he took to have been reconcileable with an enlarged patriotism.

While the contest between these two men was pending, an event occurred which altered the face of affairs. Mr Alderman Pearson, the other member for the city, died in May, 1749, and put an end to the competition. In this emergency, the board of aldermen set up a third candidate, a Mr Charles Burton, whose father, Mr Benjamin Burton, had been a whig alderman, who had long been the representative for the city, and had suffered considerably in the cause of the corporation. This gentleman had left a considerable property to his son, who having likewise become an alderman, was now called upon by his civic brethren to stand for the city.

The popular party was alarmed, and a junction between the rivals was urged. This they acceded to, and appeared together in the hall; but it was quite evident that there was still a hostile feeling between them. The friends of Lucas admit that he had attacked Latouche so unfairly, and with such bitterness, that it was impossible to suppose the existence of any sincere cordiality.

While the two popular candidates continued to harangue the companies in their halls, the candidates of the board took to the more efficient and less laborious method of a personal canvass. This, too, was loudly denounced by Lucas as an invasion of their liberties. In the mean time, an accidental circumstance gave much encouragement to the board of aldermen.

The tolls and customs had for a considerable time been falling in value, from the mismanagement of the collectors, and it was not unreasonably thought that this would, to a great extent, be remedied by committing them to the charge of individual self-interest,—the best security that the constitution of things perhaps affords. On this understanding, an alderman undertook to farm them for a term of years at a very advanced rate. Lucas immediately denounced the transaction as a job, and alleged that the assembly of the commons, in which the proposal had been discussed and carried, was a packed assembly, and insinuated that they who had been summoned were slaves to the board, and prompt to execute their purposes.

Thus it will at once be seen, a large party of the commons must have been insulted and irritated; and the effect was immediately felt. Acting promptly on the occasion, the board obtained a resolution from which the commons could not well shrink—that so lowering a charge

against their own body was false, scandalous, and malicious. Lucas attempted to defend himself, but was refused a hearing; while the common council, in a second meeting, not only voted a confirmation of the former censure, but passed a resolution of thanks to the author of a pamphlet called "Lucas Detected," which was read in council.

The result was an appeal on the part of Lucas and his friends, from the common council to the corporations. So far they succeeded. Fifteen out of the twenty-five corporations took their part.

But, in the mean time, a general collision of public sentiment and party feeling could not fail to grow out of such a prolonged and exciting contest. In all party strivings, it is known that everything that is done or said, and every passion that is excited becomes magnified and altered as it passes from circle to circle, and that all accusation, when it thus loads the breeze of rumour, soon assumes the most extreme shape. The writings and speeches of Lucas were understood as the cover of worse designs than they expressed; and it, indeed, required no misinterpretation to render them in the highest degree obnoxious. He was supposed to be the author of a weekly paper, called the "Censor," which was filled with the most scandalous attacks upon his antagonists. Of this the language was brutal, malignant, and replete with the froth and venom of the lowest malignity; so that, indeed, we have our doubts as to the fairness of ascribing it to Lucas, though it breathes of the atmosphere in which his very virtues must, to some extent, have placed him.

While those disputes were at the height, lord Harrington, the lord-lieutenant, came over. His character was popular, and it was a general impression that he would be inclined to side against the aldermen. Some circumstances of a determining complexion were yet unknown, and there were current many reports of his private conversation and sentiments, very much adapted to awaken the expectations of the popular party. Under such impressions, Lucas was induced to wait upon him, and to present him with a copy of the papers which formed the substance of those writings and addresses for which he had been accused. The lord-lieutenant listened to him, with the civility which belonged to his own character and to strict justice. He asked him questions, listened politely and patiently to his replies, and dismissed him with every mark of courtesy. Lucas took all this, as might be anticipated from his own blunt and frank simplicity of character and ignorance of manners. He failed to notice that lord Harrington had expressed no opinion, but had simply, and in candour, given him a fair hearing. It did not occur to him that no inference could be drawn from the courtesy of a gentleman, or that the lord-lieutenant did not feel himself called on to exercise that more rude office of repulsion, which more appropriately belongs to the Cerberus who stands at the outer door. Lucas, in his simplicity, considered the field his own, and felt himself authorized to reckon on the countenance of the lord-lieutenant. On the next levee he accordingly came, but was surprised and mortified by an intimation to withdraw.

There could be little doubt as to the real meaning of such an indication: and a few days after, on the opening of the parliament, the lord-lieutenant's speech contained an allusion too plain to be misunderstood.

Two days after, the subject was directly introduced; a complaint was made, enumerating all the several writings in which Lucas had expressed the most decided sentiments of a popular tendency, and it was moved and ordered that he and his printer should next day attend, to be examined before a committee of the house.

He attended, offered to vindicate himself, and was, of course, told that he was there only to answer such questions as should be put. Among other evidence brought forward, the books and papers which he had presented to the lord-lieutenant were produced. When he was ordered to withdraw, four resolutions were passed, affirmatory of his guilt, and calling for a prosecution, with an order that he should at once be committed a close prisoner in Newgate jail, for his infringement and violation of the privileges of the house.

Sir Thomas Prendergast alone made an ineffectual stand in his favour, and it was clear that there was a strong combination of hostility accumulated against him, from which it was also plain that there was no efficient shelter. Convinced of this, Lucas withdrew from the impending danger, by returning to England.

His absence, as usual in such cases, abated the edge of hostility, and gave rise to the gradual development of a reaction in his favour, of which he afterwards reaped the benefit.

On his return, he was elected member for the city. Here a new field was open for the exertion of his practical talent and keen popular spirit. He was not slow to seize upon the occasion, and took a prominent part in obtaining leave to bring in a bill to limit the duration of parliaments. As this is but one of the incidents of a long-continued struggle, we shall not here enter upon the discussion of it. We cannot afford to prolong the memoir of Lucas, and have only so far gone into detail as we consider the foregoing transactions to have an important relation to the first commencement of a train of historical events, into which we are to enter in detailed succession in a succeeding memoir. We must now hurry to a close.

The remainder of his political life may be succinctly given in the list of bills which Lucas endeavoured in vain to bring in for the amelioration and advantage of the country—all, we may add, unquestionably adapted to remedy great and obvious evils. Of these it was severally the intent to secure the freedom and independence of parliament, by ascertaining the qualifications of the members, and for vacating the seats of such members as should accept of any office under the crown.

In 1765, the heads of a bill which had been sent over to England were returned, with a new interpolated clause, vesting a dispensing power in the king in council. Against this Lucas, with other active members of the popular party, exerted themselves in vain, and Lucas published an address on the subject to his constituents, in which he attacked the measure with his wonted spirit and impetuosity.

As might be indeed imagined, the man of popular assemblies was not altogether as effective as a speaker in an assembly of lawyers and trained orators. The following extract from Mr Hardy, in his life of Charlemont, is probably as correct as it is graphic. "As a politician, he was, as the Duc de Beaufort was called during the time of the Fronde at Paris, *un roi des halles*—a sovereign of the corporations.

In the house of commons his importance was withered, and comparatively shrunk to nothing; for the most furious reformer must admit that, however the representation was in many instances narrowed into private interests, it still embraced the most conspicuous and useful orders in the state, where, if education and knowledge are not to be found, how are they to be sought after? Lucas had, in truth, little or no knowledge as a leader in parliament; and his efforts there were too often displayed in a sort of tempestuous alacrity to combat men, whose lofty disregard of him left them at full liberty to pursue their argument as if nothing had disturbed them. Self-command, whether constitutional or arising from occasional contempt, is a most potent auxiliary. His opponents were sometimes, indeed, rendered indignant; but, whether calm or angry, the battle always left him worse than before. Yet, with all this precipitancy, and too frequent want of knowledge, he annexed a species of dignity to himself in the house of commons that was not without its effect."

Lucas was, nevertheless, very much respected by several of the most eminent English as well as Irish noblemen of his generation, and this fact has value in our general estimate of him in two ways. The higher nobility of England, in very few cases, and those marked as exceptions by some eccentricity of character, have been known to stoop so very low as to countenance pretensions arising from mere popularity. Such persons living in the great world, and conversant with the ways of men, are always unlikely to be imposed upon by the vulgar insolence of pretended patriotism; and, as the conduct of Lucas was, in fact, such as might appear to expose him to the suspicion of being actuated by a low popular ambition, we are inclined to consider the respect with which he was met as tending to prove the same inference which we have already urged. We consider that it must have been felt among the better order of public men at that time, that Lucas had right and justice on his side, and the real good of Ireland at heart. The king, George III., also, may be inferred, from some passages in the writings of Lucas, to have in some way shown him kindness, and the loyalty of Lucas was, like all his sentiments, enthusiastic.

In one of his later writings, there is an affecting confession of the weariness he felt of a life of labour and sacrifice spent in vain. We may extract a few sentences:—"I have quitted a comfortable settlement in a free country, to embark in your service. I have attended constantly, closely, strictly to my duty. I have broke my health, impaired my fortune, hurt my family, and lost an object dearer to me than life, by engaging with unwearied care and painful assiduity, in this painful, thankless, perilous service. All this might be tolerable, if I could find myself useful to you or to my country. But the only benefit I can see, results to those whom I cannot look upon as friends to my country; bands of policemen and pensioners, whose merit is enhanced, and whose number has been generally increased in proportion to the opposition given to the measures of ministers. I dare not neglect, much less desert my station, but I wish by any lawful or honourable means, for my dismissal."

As a physician, Dr Lucas obtained considerable practice. Lord Charlemont was among those who employed and derived advantage

from his skill. It is not unlikely that his political character and connexion must have extended his professional walk not a little; while it may be as justly presumed to have engrossed much of his time and industry; but then it is to be acknowledged, that medical science lay within a smaller compass. In 1756, he published a treatise upon the Bath waters, which raised his medical reputation greatly at the time.

In his old age, he was an object of general respect—which his appearance and venerable deportment in society contributed to increase. During the latter years of his life, he was reduced to the lowest state of infirmity by repeated attacks of gout, so that he was always carried to the house of commons, where he could scarcely stand for a moment. In this situation he is thus described, "the gravity and uncommon neatness of his dress; his gray, venerable locks, blending with a pale but interesting countenance, in which an air of beauty was still visible, altogether excited attention, and I never knew a stranger come into the house, without asking who he was."

He was married three times—at his last marriage he was so crippled as to be carried to bed. He left children by his three wives.

He died in 1771. He had a public funeral, attended by the lord mayor and principal members of the corporation in their robes—as well as by numerous members of the house of commons. A subscription was raised, chiefly among the merchants of Dublin, for a statue which was placed in the royal exchange.

Anthony Malone.

BORN A.D. 1700.—DIED A.D. 1776.

THE history of the family of Malone is deeply interesting for its well authenticated antiquity, and will be found by the curious reader detailed at sufficient length in Mr Archdall's edition of Lodge.* From this valuable account, we select a few particulars.

The Malones are a branch of the O'Conor family. The reader is already aware, that at an early period, before fixed surnames began to identify by a common name the descendants of a common ancestor, the individuals of a family were designated by some local or personal distinction—a custom which is indeed yet to be traced among the Irish —though these distinctions are confined to their own language. Of this, examples may be pointed out in the branches of the O'Conors yet remaining. One of the descendants of this family having become bald, or been tonsured in honour of St John—for Archdall mentions two accounts—obtained the name of 'Maol Eoin,' i. e. bald John. This became in the course of time corrupted into Malone: and as this occurred soon after the custom of surnames was introduced, it became the family name.

In the wars between the kings of Meath and Connaught, the latter were mostly successful. And in the latter end of the eleventh century, they obtained a settlement in West Meath, for the branch of bald

* Lodge, Vol. vii. p. 280.

John. This was a district closely bordering on Connaught, on the east of the Shannon, and a few miles from Athlone. As this was near the ancient see of Clonmacnoise, the Malones were considerable benefactors to the abbey, of which many of them had been abbots. The ancient estate of the family is called Ballymahone, or Riverstown, within 5 miles from Athlone, and is we believe yet in the family.

We now pass to Richard, the father of Anthony Malone. If the want of materials did not offer an insurmountable obstacle, it would be no less our duty to commemorate this eminent man in a separate memoir, as from the brief and scanty accounts of him which we possess, he seems to have been a man of first rate legal and forensic powers, and to have possessed talents very much the same in quality and combination, as those of his more known son. We shall here offer the few particulars which remain.

While yet a student in the temple, Richard Malone was employed by the interest of lord Galway as a negotiator in Holland, and obtained the warm approbation of king William for the discretion and ability with which he acquitted himself of his charge. In the year 1700, he was called to the Irish bar, at which he soon rose to so high a reputation that no other barrister of his time, or, excepting his son of the generation immediately succeeding, was considered to have any claim of equal comparison with him. The following portrait is given by Mr Archdall:—"Richard Malone is said to have somewhat resembled the late Sir Robert Walpole, but was handsomer and better made than that eminent statesman. His person and deportment were graceful and engaging; his countenance was placid, yet expressive; and his voice strong and sweet. In every cause in which he was engaged he was so strenuous and ardent that, when defeated, his clients acquiesced without murmuring, from a conviction that nothing was lost for want of ability or exertion. In stating cases, he peculiarly excelled, and was no less happy in his addresses to juries, whose passions he could at all times wind to his purpose. His knowledge in the subtle and profound parts of the law, and his accuracy in drawing pleadings, both in law and equity, were equal to his elocution, which was of the first rate."

Such was the worthy father of a worthy son who followed in his track in times more favourable to his fame. He left four sons, who all arrived at high practice during their father's life. Anthony, the eldest, and the subject of the following notice, was born in December, 1700. In his twentieth year he entered as a gentleman commoner in Christ Church College, Oxford. He continued there two years, after which he removed to London to pursue his legal studies in the Temple; and in May, 1726, he was called to the Irish bar. The following year he was elected to represent the county of Westmeath, in parliament—and continued to hold his seat without any interruption till 1760.

In 1733, he married a daughter of Sir Ralph Gore, speaker of the house of commons. In 1740, he was appointed prime serjeant, and held the office for fourteen years, till 1754, when he was dismissed for joining in an effort to maintain the right of the house of commons to dispose of unappropriated sums without the crown's consent,—an act

of insubordination which may serve at the lowest to illustrate the high tone of independence, at that time participated in by few. Under the overruling and encroaching system of castle or council supremacy, which pervaded every institution in that day, it was not easy for such a man to continue long in any connexion with the administration: while, at the same time, his commanding powers and high reputation rendered it impossible that he should be passed over in the official appointments of his profession. In 1757, he was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, but was dismissed in 1760, on which he again assumed his barrister's gown. He soon after obtained a seat in the privy council, and a patent of precedence at the bar, before any of the legal officers of the crown,—"a precedence," says Archdall, "as was justly observed at the time, which nature had given him before, and which the king could not take from him."

In the latter periods of his career, it will be inferred from his more close connexion with government, that he must have attached himself to the policy of an administration, of which he cannot be presumed to have approved. But the condition of the country was then very peculiar; the time had, in fact, not arrived for effective opposition. There was no general spirit of resistance, and no strong phalanx of independence, and genius, to resist. A person (like Lucas for example,) of strong zeal, with a fiery spirit, and a breast impatient in the vindication of national rights, without a wide comprehension of constitutional workings, their causes and tendencies, would be led on to take his stand on local abuses, and partial questions, and waste much industry, acuteness, zeal, and courage, in a hopeless war of outposts. But the sagacity of a great constitutional lawyer was not so to be deceived. Malone soon began to measure, with a clear insight, the true forces which were at work, and to compute with precision, what the true value of opposition was likely to be. He saw how far off the period really was, when a resistance, which must depend on a combination of circumstances and talents not then existing, could have any prospect of success. He never doubted that all efforts, which might tend to promote and keep alive the spirit of constitutional resistance, must tend, however remotely, to good effects. But he saw where, and how, he could himself be most serviceable to his country. He saw, what was universally apparent, that there existed no effectual opposition; and that the only consequence which followed from an unavailing resistance was, that it wholly neutralized the talent and public virtue of those by whom it was offered: and he most wisely conceived that his own influential and authoritative abilities ought to be disposed where alone they could have any weight. It seemed to him, and justly, that, by obtaining weight and authority in the Irish government, he might enlighten and moderate its councils; and thus, in some degree, temper the measures of a power which he saw it was vain to resist. That these were mainly his actuating sentiments, appears strongly suggested by a passage which we shall here extract from Archdall. "Having found, by observation and experience, that, in all the contests between Ireland and England, Ireland was finally the sufferer, he thought it most prudent—as he has more than once observed to the writer of this account—to make the best compromise that could be made with our

powerful neighbours; and, on all great occasions, to conciliate rather than to exasperate." With such views he supported the measures of government, while he endeavoured in the privy council, and often with success, to turn away, in the beginning, such councils as he saw likely to lead to prejudicial results.

His honesty was never called in question; it was so conspicuous a portion of his character, and so distinctly indicated in every part of his public conduct and private conversation, that it could never occur to the most fastidious observer, to refer his actions to any motive but the most honourable. He scrupulously abstained from seeking those favours from the government, to which every public man who supports its main policy has a just claim, and may both ask and accept without reproach. The principle of his public conduct was perfectly understood; *in council* he uniformly withstood such measures as he considered in any way detrimental to the interest of Ireland, and thus in numerous instances succeeded in obtaining important modifications of measures, which he was in consistency as well as prudence obliged to support in public; a rule of conduct which, it is allowed, is the obligation of every public man who has any weight; but at that time more especially necessary on distinct grounds. "On many great occasions," writes his panegyrist, "did he successfully oppose in the privy council, measures which he considered prejudicial to Ireland, and unjustifiable; choosing rather to benefit his country, by crushing baneful projects while yet in agitation, than to snatch at a fleeting popularity, by opposing them when matured and submitted to the decision of parliament."

Even in his practice as a barrister, there was a very general impression that his advocacy was, in a very unusual manner, governed by a fastidious natural equity. On the wrong side of the argument, much of his power was repressed; he stated the arguments fairly in behalf of his client, but he disdained to adorn false claims with the specious falsehood of sophistry. On such occasions he discharged his duty, but no more; and it was considered as an unfavourable sign of the event of a suit, when at the close of his statement he left the court.

For the first twenty years, according to the custom in Ireland, he practised in all the courts,—a custom which we believe still exists, and must continue to exist, in a country in which it is impossible that, to a junior at least, the business of any one court could afford a sufficient share of employment. During the last thirty years of his life he confined himself to Equity business.

His style is described as a model of forensic eloquence—plain, flowing, perspicuous, and uniformly adapted to his subject; deriving force as well as clearness from a masterly arrangement of his arguments and topics; and, such at the same time was the fulness of his statement, that he left the impression that there could be nothing more said upon the subject. He seems to have merited the description of Antony which is given by Cicero, "Omnia veniebant Antonio in mentem; eaque suo quæque in loco ubi plurimum proficere et valere possent,"—Mr Grattan, giving that testimony which is of all praise the most valuable, has preserved the following recollections,

which we give entire with his own comment. "Mr Malone, one of the characters of 1753, was a man of the finest intellect that any country ever produced." "The three ablest men I have ever heard were, Mr Pitt (the father), Mr Murray, and Mr Malone. For a popular assembly, I would choose Mr Pitt; for a privy council, Murray; for twelve wise men, Malone." This was the opinion which lord Sackville, the secretary of 1753, gave to a gentleman from whom I heard it. "He is a great sea in a calm," said Mr Gerrard Hamilton, another great judge in men and talents; "Ay," it was replied, "but had you seen him when he was young, you would have said that he was a great sea in a storm, and, like the sea, whether in calm or storm, he was a great production of nature."

Mr Malone has been praised for the sweet serenity of his temper, for the grace of his manner, and for the lofty composure with which he ever looked down superior on slight causes of irritation or disappointment.

He continued to take a part in public proceedings, and was in the fullest exercise of his profession to the time of his death, which occurred on 8th May, 1776.

A writer who has given in the first number of the *Dublin Penny Journal*, a brief sketch, which is apparently drawn from the same source which has supplied the chief part of the foregoing memoir, has remarked with great propriety—"Though our task is to record the characters of those whom death has placed beyond the reach of flattery, and not to eulogize the living generation, we cannot avoid remarking the strong resemblance which the above sketch bears to a distinguished member of the same profession in our own times. The peculiar modesty of that individual would feel hurt by the coupling of his name with so high a panegyric, but the members of his profession will find no difficulty in identifying him with the picture." We extract this sentence, because it contains a most just and appropriate comparison, of which —if the main features of this memoir have any truth—the propriety is so striking as to demand no addition of a name. The combination of faithful service with proud integrity; of rational patriotism with scorn of popularity; are not the profuse production of any period of history. The peculiar style which derives perspicuity and power from order, from the due subordination and the masterly arrangement, is not the characteristic of many Irish orators of the best periods of our senate or bar. When we but remotely advert to the high spirit and delicate sense of honour which has ever shrunk from the shadow of imputation, and even kept the public man subordinate to the high-spirited Irish gentleman; the picture is as complete as if it came from the hand of Cregan or Rothwell, Burton or Lawrence.

James, Earl of Charlemont.

BORN A.D. 1728.—DIED A.D. 1799.

THE life of James, earl of Charlemont, has been through various channels placed before the public, with an unusual degree of detail.

And we should hold ourselves exempt from the obligation to enter minutely, or at length, into statements which have been so often and so variously repeated, were it not for the peculiarly central station which his lordship occupied during the most important interval of our history.

The ancestors of his race have been already noticed in these pages.* His grandfather, the second viscount Charlemont, took a forward and distinguished part in the wars which preceded and led to the revolution of 1688; and was visited with attainder and sequestration by the parliament of James II. He was restored to his honours and possessions by William, from whom he obtained several promotions, and that ancient honour of his family, the government of Charlemont fort. He served under the celebrated earl of Peterborow in Spain. At the siege of Barcelona he won signal honour, in the command of the first brigade, at the head of which he forced an entrance. And immediately after, he obtained still higher distinction by his conduct in an attack upon the citadel of Monjuich. On this occasion he was presented by lord Peterborow to the king of Spain, as one whose services merited special notice, and received his majesty's thanks accordingly. Advancing by a rapid ascent in the career of military distinction, he rose by merit to the rank of major-general, and was made governor of the counties of Tyrone and Armagh. He married the only daughter of primate Margetson, and by her had five daughters and seven sons; of whom James, the second son, and father to James the subject of the following memoir, was the third viscount.

His second son James, of whom we are now to relate the history, was born in Dublin on the 18th of August, 1728.

From the delicacy of his constitution it was not thought advisable to send him to a public school, and he was accordingly educated at home by private tutors,—a method, of which we think we can trace the advantages and disadvantages in every part of his after life. The singleness and purity of his character, which render him an eminent model of all that is noble and high in the character of the perfect gentleman; the heart, without fear or reproach, may be in some measure traced to his fortunate isolation from the most sure working and swift of all moral contaminations, those which are infused at that age, when every impression imparts something to the growth of the character; while the want of that rough training, and those hourly collisions which arm the schoolboy with indifference and nerve, in the gaze of the public eye, may be in some degree detected in the reserve which kept his lordship silent in parliament. This may perhaps be refining overmuch; it may be admitted that it is easier to enumerate hundreds of home-bred *roués* or school-bred mutes, than a gentleman or statesman like the earl of Charlemont. Among his tutors, one was that Mr Murphy—whose name is so familiar to the schoolboy as the editor of the lesser dialogues of Lucian—a gentleman who acquitted himself so satisfactorily in his charge, that he earned the respect and friendship of his pupil, and was afterwards the companion of his travels.

In 1746, at the early age of eighteen, he had completed no incon-

* Vol. II. p. 396.

siderable range of classical reading. It is mentioned by Mr Hardy that, having found his extreme deficiency in school attainments when the instructions of Mr Murphy were obtained, he then devoted himself to his studies with such close industry as to injure his sight. It must have been a seasonable relaxation to such assiduity, when in his eighteenth year he was sent to travel on the continent. Notwithstanding his youth, it is easy to perceive that his understanding was fully matured for the advantages of travel; he set out with a mind pre-eminently qualified to be instructed by a wide and various range of observation and intercourse. His first visit was to Holland, where he had the good fortune to be present during a political movement of considerable interest, terminated by the establishment of the prince of Orange in the government. From thence he visited the English army in Germany, where he was received with distinction by the duke of Cumberland, with whom, if we rightly understand Mr Hardy, he remained some time as a guest, and who was very kind to him ever after.

From the English camp he proceeded to Turin, eager perhaps to visit a place no less deeply interesting to the classical scholar for its historical recollections, than for its ancient and celebrated university. It must be considered as a highly characteristic incident of his life, that, immediately after his arrival, he entered as a student in the academy of Turin, which was, we believe, appropriated for persons of rank, and pursued his studies there for a year,—a step which indicates, most unequivocally, the order to which his frame of mind belonged; the study of self-improvement, and the eager and curious appetite for acquirement, frequent enough in those who have been taught the advantage of these attainments by their want; but only developed as the early and spontaneous growth of natural disposition in those who are constitutionally of an intellectual temperament. This reflection is indeed suggested by an impression of some undefined similarity between the subject of this memoir, and the hon. Robert Boyle, who, in circumstances something similar, displayed a similarly inquisitive activity of observation, and readiness of intercourse and address, though, in him, combined with some more profound and sterner attributes of character. It is probable that here lord Charlemont first began to show that most engaging combination of conversational qualities that continued through life to win respect and affection for him, to an extent which we have not often to record. Here he formed an intimacy with the prince royal, who was his fellow-student, and received the most courteous attention from the king of Sardinia and the royal family. The Sardinian court was then the resort of persons eminent for their literature and science, and his lordship availed himself fully of the inestimable advantages which the intercourse of such men can only give, and which can only be fully imparted to those who are themselves competently endowed. Such an interval, to one whose taste and talents seem to have been so fitted to communicate and receive the fire of intellectual collision, must have been a school to fix and to complete the character in which he always after appears, and which was undoubtedly the character of his mind. Among others with whom he at this time formed an acquaintance, was Hume. It is

mentioned as a proof of his good sense and steadiness, that his religious principles had not been overturned by the infidel metaphysician. We cannot say that we attach much importance to such an indication: we cannot imagine Hume, who was much, and we believe deservedly, loved by his private friends, could have made it his ordinary practice to assail their faith; such an indiscretion would have soon thinned his circle of all its worthiest friends. There were unhappily everywhere minds enough to admire and seek out the infidel—there was in France, Italy, and even in England, ample range for unchecked sneers at Divine truth; but Hume was too much a gentleman in spirit, and of too amiable a temper, to assail the christianity of those who possessed any. He was too sagacious to be convinced by his own pre-eminently fallacious metaphysics. And assuredly his arguments, which he himself characterized as carrying no conviction,* were not very likely to make any impression on the plain common sense of any one—not already an infidel. Mr Hardy's account of this period of his life contains some very highly interesting notices of the person and manners of Hume, with which we should be very anxious to ornament our memoir, were it not that having very much essential matter to narrate, we are compelled to confine our narrative within the least possible compass. Hume was then at Turin, as secretary to Sir John Sinclair, ambassador to the Sardinian court. "He had," writes lord Charlemont, "kindly distinguished me from among a number of young men who were then in the academy."

His lordship left Turin for Rome, October, 1748. He remained at Naples during the winter; and in the spring, with several English gentlemen, he sailed from Leghorn for Constantinople. On the 8th day of May, they came within sight of Messina, having passed "the poetical dangers of Scylla and Charybdis." As they approached the quay, a boat came alongside with the disagreeable intelligence, that they could not be suffered to enter the city until they should first have been examined by the officers of health. They were accordingly forced to remain for three hours on the naked beach, until the proper officers should arrive. At the end of this time, they were cautiously approached by the officials, and, from a safe distance, questioned about the port from which they came. When Leghorn was mentioned, their fear seemed in some degree abated, and they ventured more near, and assumed a more unreserved tone. The travellers were then directed to enter a little hut, into which when they were crowded, a bar was put up at about three feet from the ground, over which they were desired to leap. This was an easy feat to all but one corpulent gentleman, who, after many desperate efforts, with difficulty escaped from the severe infliction of a quarantine: such a trial was perhaps rather too indiscriminately applied to a corpulent person. The same gentleman seems indeed to have had a narrow escape from the vigilance of the officials; as upon a more severe inspection it would have been discovered that he was affected with a symptom which is common to the plague, and a different ailment under which he was then suffering. On entering Messina, a dreary scene of desolation

* Hume's Essays.

presented itself; scarcely a passenger was to be seen on the grass-grown pavements of a splendid city, famed but a little before for its prosperity and populousness. The shops were shut, the palaces deserted. The plague had raged for three months, and in that city alone, carried off forty-seven thousand persons, not far from five-sixths of the entire population. These are a few main particulars taken from his lordship's forcible and affecting narrative; to which he added some just remarks which show both a reflecting and observing turn of mind.

Such a state of things could not be very inviting, and the party did not linger in this place of gloom and desolation, but hastened their departure by Malta and Smyrna, towards the Dardanelles. His lordship did not fail to perform the usual pilgrimage of taste to the Troad, and reached Constantinople, where he continued for a month in his wonted way, conversing freely with every one, and inquiring curiously about everything worth knowing. While here, he attained his twenty-first year, which he celebrated by an ode after the ordinary manner of imitating Horace, which was, we believe, a fashion among the scholars of his day. Mr Hardy has printed it; it indicates an elegant taste, though not much more. Some of the stanzas are written with ease, simplicity and terseness; others are marked by forced construction; and none display anything beyond the trite reflections which the subject has never failed to present; yet, compared with the average poetry of his day, we cannot conclude that lord Charlemont might not, as a mere literary man, have stood far above mediocrity. Where there is clear common sense and correct taste—the eminent qualities of his lordship—it is hardly credible how ideas accumulate, and fresh power may be developed in any direction, up to a certain point; and this point we would fix, in general, by the highest level reached by the same individual in other attainments of a kindred kind. These birth-day verses are addressed to Richard Marlay, afterwards bishop of Waterford, and always one of lord Charlemont's most especial friends.

He remained at Constantinople for a month, and then embarked for Egypt, visiting, on his way, Lesbos, Chios, Mitylene, Delos, and Paros—*niveamque Paron, sparsasque per aequor Cycladas*—looking at everything with that tasteful enthusiasm which filled his mind, and was among its most remarkable features. From Paros he reached Alexandria, and remained long enough in Egypt to see all its principal objects of curiosity and wonder. He then set sail for Cyprus, but was driven so far westward by a succession of cross-winds, that he was compelled to change his intention, and anchor in Rhodes. From this, after much tossing about, and some delightful landings and excursions, he reached Athens. From Athens he made several excursions, of which he wrote interesting accounts in his most graphic and lively style. Among the various adventures which he met was a tremendous tempest, of which he has given a detailed account, too long for insertion here, but not inferior in truth and terror to any of the many similar descriptions which we can remember. It was a Levanter, which commenced at noon, increased all day, and at night grew furious beyond

description. They were ignorant of their position in that dreadful night, having been for many days unable to take any observation, and imagined themselves to be driving up the formidable gulf of the Adriatic. The tempest still increased, and with it all those incidents of terror and desperate precaution so calculated to shake the landsman's heart. Among other awful casualties the cannon broke loose, and, with the ballast, came with a tremendous crash to the leeside, which nearly lay upon the water. "If the whole world," says his lordship, "should, by sudden explosion, be rent asunder, I question whether the shock would be greater to each individual than what was now felt in our little world. Every heart quaked with fear, and horror appeared in every countenance. The ship, weighed down by the shifting of her ballast, &c., was unable to right herself, and lay gunwale under water, at the mercy of the billows. In this awful situation, the only resource appears to have been one which was so hazardous, that the captain, when he stated what it was, added, 'I am an old sailor, and should fear to attempt it. But it is our only means of safety, and if there be a fellow among you brave enough'—here he was instantly interrupted by Tom Sillers, I never shall forget his name—who stood next to him; this truly, and, I may add, philosophically brave fellow, taking from his cheek the plug of tobacco, cried out, 'by G—, master, if we must die, 'tis better to die doing something.' His words accompanied his action." The danger was thus postponed. Having retired to bed, after an "hour's horrid uncertainty," the captain came to scare them with the information that "he feared all was over," and advised them to prepare for the worst. There was a momentary silence, which was singularly broken by an exclamation from Mr F. Burton,—"Well," exclaimed this gentleman, "and, I fear," writes lord Charlemont, "with an oath, this is fine indeed! Here have I been pampering this great body of mine for more than twenty years, and all to be a prey to some cursed shark, and be damned to him." The "unexpected oddity" of this exclamation, at such a time, afforded a moment's mirth, on which perhaps fear itself was willing to seize as a brief respite. The ship's carpenter next appeared with the friendly design to reassure them: but his consolation had in it a serious qualification. The ship was, he said, sound; but there was, indeed, "one rotten plank, and that a principal one: let that hold and we are all safe!" It may easily be conceived how, as the noble writer says, their fancy turned on the rotten plank all night. During this long and dreadful night all was anticipation of the most revolting and terrific nature, added to no slight bodily suffering and injury. "Yet still," writes his lordship, "we hoped—the principle of religion was active in our souls, and despair fled before it. Wo to the wretch, who, in such a situation, is destitute of this comfort."

After much suffering, the sun rose, the wind fell, and the danger passed away. In a few hours more, land appeared; the joy was great, and this was still increased when they found that they had actually gained their intended port in the island of Malta. The quarantine of 40 days to which they were condemned, appeared as a trifle after such

danger so narrowly escaped. In ten days, however, they grew weary, and, petitioning the grand-master, had their probation shortened to 13 days more, at the end of which they landed.

At Malta, lord Charlemont was received with great and memorable consideration and civility; the established usages of the place were, in some respects set aside for the visitors. As an Irish peer he was received, according to etiquette, with his hat on. The grand-master, prohibited by usage from eating with them, joined the company when dinner was removed. Masked balls, long forbidden on account of the riots which they had occasioned, were renewed for their entertainment. In Malta, dissipation and luxury, and, consequently, vice of all descriptions were carried to the most extreme lengths. "The town of Malta is one vast brothel," was the pithy and comprehensive description of his lordship. The military monks, having no occupation but to live, and, bound by their vows to celibacy, compensated themselves by the lowest depths and latitudes of profligacy. Debauched themselves, they debauched the island. "Every woman, almost, is a knight's mistress, and every mistress intrigues with other men. Hither flock, as to an established mart for beauty, the female votaries of Venus from every distant region—Armenians, Jewesses, Greeks, Italians." From such a scene it was, perhaps, no small relief once more to feel themselves upon the sea.

On his return to Italy lord Charlemont renewed his acquaintance with the Sardinian court, and was present at the marriage of the young prince, who particularly requested his attendance. He had by this time attained so complete a mastery of the Italian tongue, that the natural graces of his conversation were set off to the utmost advantage, and a large accession of distinguished friends was added to his circle. Having next passed some time at Verona—where he was much cultivated by the Marchese Scipione Maffei—he proceeded to Rome, where he continued to reside two years, and was, says Mr Hardy, one of the earliest examples, among the English, of keeping house there. His housekeeping was superintended by Mr Murphy, whose learning won for him golden opinions among the *cicerones*. The arts and their professors came in for a large share of his lordship's attention, and several deserving English and some Italian artists were indebted to his bounty. He was of much service to Sir William Chambers, whose means were then small, and his acquaintance few. We cannot here even enumerate the cardinals and distinguished noblemen of every rank and country with whom he made acquaintance. Among these were the duc de Nivernois, who was the French ambassador at Rome, and the marquis of Rockingham, both constant friends in after years. He was also treated with affectionate, and almost parental kindness, by the reigning pope, Benedict XIV.

After leaving Rome, he revisited Turin and Florence, and made a short excursion in Spain. He then travelled through France, where he met with the same kindness as in the former places. We cannot now afford more space to this portion of his history than a very brief notice of his visit to the celebrated Montesquieu. This, too, we must, with some regret, abridge. Not wishing to return home without meeting so eminent a man, lord Charlemont and his friend, a Mr Elliott, having

arrived at Bourdeaux, wrote a joint letter to the president, expressive of their desires, and received a kind invitation in reply. They reached his villa next morning before he was up, having breakfasted on the way. On entering his library they found Ovid's Elegies open on the table, and, in the midst of their speculations on this discovery, the president walked into the room, and presented a person quite different from their expectations—a "gay, polite, sprightly Frenchman." A walk was soon proposed to inspect the improvements of the villa, which its owner had laid out after the English style of landscape gardening. On this walk there occurred a characteristic scene, which we shall present in the noble author's own words. "Following him into the farm, we soon arrived at the skirts of a beautiful wood, cut into walks and paled round, the entrance to which was barricadoed with a moveable bar, about three feet high, fastened with a padlock. 'Come,' said he, searching in his pocket, 'it is not worth our while to wait for the key, you, I am sure, can leap as well as I can, and this shall not stop me.' So saying he ran at the bar, and fairly jumped over it; while we followed him with amazement, though not without delight, to see the philosopher likely to become our playfellow. This behaviour had exactly the effect which he meant it should have. He had observed our awkward timidity at his first accosting us, and was determined to rid us of it." Among the incidents of the subsequent conversation, M. Montesquieu related a very singular trick which had, while he was in England, been played upon him by the duke of Montagu. "Only think of my first acquaintance with him, having invited me to his country seat before I had leisure to get into any sort of intimacy—he practised on me that singular trick which, undoubtedly, you have either experienced or heard of, under the idea of playing the play of introduction to ambassadors—he soused me over head and ears in a tub of cold water. I thought it odd, to be sure, but a traveller, as you well know, must take the world as it goes, &c." They remained for three days—on their return to Bourdeaux they were accompanied thither by the president's secretary, whom they had, till then, taken to be a Frenchman, but now, to their surprise, he for the first time addressed them in English, and turned out to be an Irishman. They had, whether by design or accident, been thus exposed to a snare which they were perhaps glad to have escaped; and it was with a momentary sensation of an anxious nature, that they endeavoured to recall the occasional remarks which they had exchanged under covert of a language which they thought only understood by themselves. Montesquieu was at this time in his seventieth year. In their subsequent meetings with him, at Bourdeaux, they were no less astonished at his sprightly command of that species of small talk which was then so acceptable to women, and to French women in particular, than at his previous display of senile agility. Lord Charlemont mentions several other interesting particulars, for which we must be content to refer to Mr Hardy. Immediately after these incidents M. Montesquieu fell ill and died.

In June, 1754, lord Charlemont returned to Ireland, having passed upwards of eight years in foreign travel. He was, at this time, in his twenty-sixth year, and had attained to the full maturity of his

character and understanding, under that course of education most suited to his frame of mind. Good sense, a fine and discriminating sagacity, exercised by habitual observation, and the knowledge of men and manners, as well as the tact and address which such a mind with such accomplishments is nearly sure to attain, may be enumerated among the main features of his character. These acquirements were under the command of a moral temper, as pure from taint, and as lofty and noble in all its tendencies, as perhaps has been, or will be, the lot of mere humanity. Endowed with the most refined intellectual tastes, and the most endearing social affections,—and, if ever the ambiguous virtue of patriotism was unmixed with the base alloy of corrupt and selfish motives, in the breast of a public man, it was in his. We thus distinctly state our view of his character, because, from the point of his history at which we are arrived, he is to occupy a very prominent place in the history of Ireland, during its most busy and interesting period. From this, our memoir is to be the historical narrative of the time in which he was a leading actor on the public scene.

On his return he was created LL.D.; appointed governor of the county of Armagh; and obtained a seat in the Irish privy council.

A slight account of the state of Ireland, at the outset of his political life, will be here advantageous to preserve the historical chain of our narrative.

From the last popular commotion in the time of Swift, to the period now before us, there was a dull and torpid interval of public tranquillity. The Irish administration had, by art, influence, and the subordinate methods of intrigue, by the management of the public purse, and by the dexterous adjustment and counterpoise of factious interests gained and preserved an uncontested ascendancy in every department of the legislature. Though this superiority was uninterrupted by any public or ostensible outbreak of party, it was yet not maintained without heavy cost, and unremitting, though under-hand exertion. The great heads of the Irish aristocracy were haughty, turbulent of mood, and conscious of their value; they were indispensable accessaries to the policy of the castle, to be bought or flattered into compliance as the case might require. The revenue of the country, raised to the utmost limit of exaction, afforded the main fund for the support of this influence, and was freely lavished in pensions, and other methods of gratuity, among the dependents of those whom it was necessary to conciliate.

Such resources would, nevertheless, have been insufficient, were there not a multitude of private interests and prejudices which weighed upon the same side. It cannot be denied, that the Irish aristocracy at this time had long felt that their own influence and authority were inextricably linked with the supremacy of the English party and government. And while they preferred and cherished a purely native tenantry, as by far the most submissive and profitable, yet it was as obvious an expediency to keep them in that state in which they were most subservient and open to extortion. Thus, on consideration, it will be apparent that there was a considerable mass of conflicting motives at work in the tendency of the time. The Irish people, scanty in number, poor, and, to the lowest degree unimproved, were the submissive and willing serfs and drudges of the soil. This statement ought, however,

to be qualified by a consideration of their very low place then in the scale of civilization;—at that period they can only be considered as oppressed, insomuch that their improvement was totally unthought of. The English population, on the other hand, were in point of education, commercial advantage, and public spirit, more advanced and far less manageable: they were more formidable, and more the subject of a stringent and oppressive policy, under which they deeply murmured and repined. As for that high ascendancy of the English and protestant interests, of which a certain class of writers now so strongly speak, it is uniformly misrepresented. Between the protestant and Roman parties there was, of course, some opposition of feeling; in truth, such will be created by any imaginable distinction; but there was no animosity nor anything which might deserve the name of any popular sentiment. It was the ascendancy of England over Ireland—of the local and territorial interests of the one country over those of the other that was the object of castle policy, and often of national contest. This point is the more important to be set right, as there is not only injustice but ingratitude in the confusion; in the great contest for national rights and privileges, the battle of patriotism was fought and won by the descendants of the settlers—it was the *ascendancy* itself that supplied the strength and resolution which called up and imparted a free spirit to the volunteers. They were not only Englishmen by descent, but protestants by creed.

But, during this leaden interval, all had lain in silence under one spiritless level of subjection. The parliament was merely nominal; it simply served to give an air of legality to enactments which were virtually nothing less absolute than those edicts of the first Cæsars, in which the forms of the republic were preserved. The meetings of the houses were but formal; prayers were read; leave was given for the bishops to be covered; and a motion of adjournment ended the solemn farce. The return of a bill, from the English privy council, was only some shades less potential than the *grandis epistola* from Capua. By Poyning's law no bill could be passed until it was first approved by the lord-lieutenant and the Irish council; from the castle it was transmitted to the king in council, and, if approved of, it was returned back to the castle; most probably altered in such a manner as to frustrate wholly the original intent. It was then returned to the house—such at least was then the construction of Poyning's law. In addition to this strange mockery, the English commons, eager to enforce on Ireland certain commercial restraints and disabilities, had, in direct contravention to every law and treaty, and to the entire understanding between the two countries, declared their right to make laws to bind Ireland. Such a right was believed in by no one; but it was not felt for a long time to be worth disputing—nor can it be justly said, unless as a point of national pride, that it was of any serious moment. If, by accident, a spirited effort to contest the wishes of the administration, either by a passing emotion of patriotic feeling, an impulse of justice—or as sometime occurred where some partial interest broke the spiritless unanimity—the momentary storm soon blew over—the vote was sure to decide for government. The members were returned by a few; the common vice of the borough system had a substantial and extreme

existence in Ireland; and the few strings which moved the whole were in the hands of the king, or of his lieutenant. Men look to immediate objects for the government of their actions. Those who were not personally engaged in trade, failed to reflect on advantages and disadvantages which appeared but as the remote result of a circle of causes. The Irish aristocracy preferred the influence they possessed with government, with the added importance they gained by patronage and power, to a prosperity which would so largely have reverted to themselves.

From such unhappy causes it was, that for the better part of a century, Ireland was excluded from all trade with the British colonies. She was not allowed to export to English ports, those articles which she was best enabled to raise—her cattle, and raw material of every description. To such an extent was the jealousy of the English graziers excited, that a duty equivalent to a prohibition was laid upon the importation of her wool.

The penal laws affecting the members of the church of Rome were grievous, and, had they been enforced, intolerably severe. This severity was, however, then totally unfelt; nor on this score was there in fact any complaint: these statutes lay generally dormant, and unless on one or two occasions of alarm, resulting from popular excitement, were not even thought of. The statute of 1699 was, indeed, the mere result of intrigue, and not even intended by any party. It was projected by a faction, in the hope to make king William unpopular, by compelling him to pass a bill conceived in so extreme a spirit of severity, that it was deemed a matter of course that it should be rejected in England. So paltry a stratagem was seen through and retorted on the contrivers—the English counsellors of king William added, as they considered, new absurdities, and sent them back their bill, with leave to pass it. Both parties for some time continued to play this wretched game, in which the strife was, not who should have the infamy of passing, but who should incur the odium of rejecting it. The English court, as we learn from bishop Burnet, was reluctant to be severe beyond what was deemed indispensable, and, while it desired to avoid passing this enactment, at the same time fully comprehended that they might experience much difficulty in obtaining such a measure of coercion as was yet considered essential to the peace of Ireland. They were not unwilling to throw the burthen of passing this law on those whom they knew had no desire to bring in any law upon the subject. And thus it was that, after being tossed back and forward for some time, it was passed in the heat of party-contest actually to the surprise of all. So far as it is here considered, there was a further consequence; this act, of 1699, was deficient in several clauses necessary to give it practical operation. Its application, so far as that extreme provision, which incapacitated the popish heir, only gave a right of action to the protestant next of kin, of which neither shame nor safety would permit any one to avail himself. And if the next of kin stood aside, the right was not thereby transferred further—his dormant claim was a security against every one else. In cases of sudden excitements which awakened suspicion of the renewal of the ancient plots among the papal communion, still not quite effaced

from the fears of the then living generation—some acts of personal severity occurred in the panic of the moment, which would have most probably occurred without any law. But these unhappy incidents were not looked upon by any class as hard or severe, though afterwards admirably serving the purpose of party rhetoric. Suspicions which were not actually verified by any present occasion, were then thought to be justified by the past. They were, at worst, incidental cases of severity; and the free spirit, to which they would have been shocking and intolerable, had no existence save in the breasts of a few. "The test," says Burnet, "relating to matters of doctrine and worship, did not seem a proper ground for so great a severity; so this act was not followed, nor executed in any sort." This act, as to its operation, was dormant; and, though in a more advanced state of civil progress, it would have been resented even for the insult alone; no such sentiment could then exist. At the time there was no public, at least no popular, discontent on such grounds. Among the few Irish gentlemen who were actuated by any sense of public spirit, it was enumerated occasionally among other subjects of grievance.

Such was the general condition of Irish politics in 1755, when lord Charlemont came over; and the country was not merely in this depressed and impoverished condition, but, by the necessary reaction of such a state of things on human feeling, its interests were generally regarded as of no importance, but by those whom they immediately affected. As Swift wrote to Bolingbroke with a truth, which in our times may only pass for wit, "the truth is, we never had leisure to think of that country while we were in power:" the sentence carries a reflection on the patriotism of Swift too severely true for the play of fancy; and it may be generally applied to the patriotism of the gloomy interval between the revolution and the date at which we have arrived. The Irish patriot was only such for the ordinary purpose of opposition—the struggle for place or power, and the conflict of personal interests.

The character of lord Charlemont was such as to awaken ready confidence, both in his good sense and disinterestedness; and an occasion soon offered for the exercise of this influence. Mr Boyle, the speaker of the House of Commons and primate Stone, had engaged in a trial of strength; and, as the primate was one of the main supports of the Irish government, the speaker took the side of opposition; the question on which they tried their rival strength related to a surplus of the Irish revenue, amounting to £200,000, the right to dispose of which was disputed betwen the crown and the Irish commons. The speaker was possessed of talent, and of an influence in elections more extensive than any other individual at that time possessed; his opposition was likely to retard and embarrass the Irish government. The question which was thus raised was warmly contested by the parties: it was carried in opposition to government, by an ineffective resolution of the Irish commons; the government applied the money according to its own discretion. A conflict of such a nature, and conducted by such means, was nevertheless highly embarrassing to the government; the right of taxation was one of those questions which there was on both sides of the water, the utmost reluctance to have raised; the English government

had observed the utmost caution on the subject, for while the right of taxation was asserted by them, they uniformly abstained from its exercise. The topic thus introduced by the speaker, was therefore, it will be seen, in the higher degree embarrassing. The English ministry perceived the difficulties to which they might be exposed—they feared the opposition of the speaker, and they disliked the support of the primate. To extricate themselves, their first step was to send over the marquess of Hartington, son to the duke of Devonshire. This nobleman was highly popular in Ireland, where both the property of his family and his personal qualifications were sure to give him weight and influence. It was now thought necessary to adopt the expedient of bringing the parties together, and to effect a personal reconciliation. Lord Charlemont, who was related to the speaker, undertook this task, and was successful. He effected the desired object, and, according to Mr Hardy, "the wheels of government moved on as before."

Connected with this affair there was another negotiation to which he had no privity; and which is only here to be stated for the impulse which it seems to have imparted to his political sentiments, for the rest of his life. A private treaty was entered upon between the refractory leaders and the government, by which it was agreed, that the primate was to have his share of power, "though not at that time, yet at no distant period;" and, that Mr Boyle, the speaker, should have the rank and title of an earl, with £3000 a-year for thirty-one years. On these occurrences lord Charlemont's reflections are quoted by his biographer—we think them characteristic—"and this was the first instance that occurred to me among many thousands to which I was afterwards witness, that the mask of patriotism is often assumed to disguise self-interest and ambition; and that the paths of violent opposition are too frequently trod, as the nearest and surest road to office and emolument."*

The question which had been brought forward from motives such as are thus described, had really all the importance attributed to it by the government; and is not without much reason looked on as the first impulse which gave motion to a popular spirit, which had, till then, lain asleep. The process by which such incidents may have an operation very disproportionate in magnitude to their apparent origin, is well known, and we have at some length dwelt upon it in our prefatory chapter.† A period of tranquillity, under circumstances seemingly the least favourable, will yet be productive of the irrepressible and ever-springing tendencies of progress. For two generations of political torpor, the population was increasing, and ideas were, however slowly, making their way downward. The gentry and the mercantile classes, which in reality constituted the public, were likewise advanced in wealth, the arts of life, intelligence, and numbers. A growing sense of self-assertion grew with their strength; and had there been a sagacious eye to mark the indications of public feeling and opinion—which is seldom heeded until it starts into some attitude of strength—it would have been discerned that there were elements afloat, and moving into states of combination, which only wanted the impulse to become agents of revolutionary movement.

* Hardy's Life, &c., p. 49.

† Introduction, pp. 112, 113.

And thus it was, as has been often remarked by several who lived and wrote in that period, that the contest between Mr Boyle the speaker and primate Stone, awakened a spirit that never again subsided until it manifested itself in the most remarkable events and acts of our history. It was not, it is well observed by Mr Hardy, a mere commotion of the populace, like those tumultuary excitements, caused by the Drapier's Letters; but it was an open, full, and spirited discussion which burst in upon the torpor of the Irish parliament, like a breeze upon a stagnant sea, which awakes the billows of its power, and disturbs the reptiles which float upon its torpid level. The patriotism of some was excited, —the indignation and sense of wrong of many; such discussions, never confined to the speakers, or to the walls of parliament, ran through all the circles of connexion and dependency; and the spirit of controversy was widely roused upon a question more nearly affecting the pride than the purses of the public. The well-oiled wheels of government went on smoothly when restored to their wonted motion in the customary channels; but an impulse was propagated onward into futurity. We shall presently come to the first serious indication of the latent power thus awakened.

Lord Hartington became duke of Devonshire by the death of his father. In 1756, he left the government of Ireland, and was succeeded by John, duke of Bedford. He had always preserved the most kindly intercourse with lord Charlemont, and, without any solicitation, had presented his brother with a cornetcy of dragoons—the only favour which lord Charlemont ever received from the castle, to which any emolument was attached. By this nobleman lord Charlemont's high and independent spirit was appreciated fully but justly—he was looked upon as one from whom opposition was as a matter of course to be anticipated. He still preserved the respect due to his rank and character; though ready to resist the government, he cared not to court the people, and was no more to be bribed from his sense of right, by low adulation, than by flattery in high places,—a distinction in his case, the more to be insisted upon, because the man who pursues a popular course, at the dictate of the most genuine sense of duty or love of his country, can hardly escape the imputation of having looked for the popularity which he is likely to win.

In the latter end of the reign of queen Anne, there had been some attempts on the part of the English house of peers to interfere with the judicial privileges of the Irish peers, who, on their part, resisted the encroachment by resolutions. But soon after the accession of George I., a more decided course was adopted by the English parliament, which brought in a bill to maintain the dependence of Ireland upon the British crown, in which the Irish lords were deprived of their judicature as a court of appeal; and the English parliament was expressly declared competent to legislate for Ireland. This was universally and deeply felt by every Irish gentleman, not actually in the pay of government, to be a heavy insult and grievance; but the spirit to resist was wanting; such sentiments were yet isolated in the breast of individuals, and it was evident to ordinary discretion, that it was unsafe to bring on questions which are sure to bring only a confirmation of wrong, and a firmer rivetting of restraints.

As a peer, lord Charlemont entertained a deep and impatient sense of this injustice to his country, and insult to his order; and, while yet a very young man, and not perhaps withheld by any very prudential forecast, he determined to bring it to the test. No one considered the English statute,—which really begged the question of right—to be in the least binding; its validity was evidently involved in the question it pretended to settle; and every one understands how much more keenly the sense of wrong is felt when the sense of reason is at the same time offended. Lord Charlemont came to a resolution, either by a real or fictitious suit, to bring this question of jurisdiction before the legislature; and, there is little doubt but the Irish lords would have found such an appeal very embarrassing, although it is as certain that they would have found reasons far more influential on the other side: it was therefore so far fortunate at the time, that a fit of illness, followed by a long interval of very delicate health, interfered. "When more advanced in years," says Mr Hardy, "he used to speak of this illness rather as a fortunate one; for the house of lords, as he discovered, would not have entertained his suit." We must, however, say, that we have some doubts on this point: the commons were not quite asleep—though, it must be allowed, not far from it —questions of less moment had been found to rouse their spirit, and the lords would have hesitated finally to admit, that they were bound by a statute of the English parliament. But the hour of trial was not yet come. "Neither Grattan nor Flood were then in parliament, nor if they were, would parliament have encouraged them. My splendid, but boyish scheme, fell therefore to the ground," was the comment of his lordship in later times. The illness, which is mentioned by his lordship, was probably the same which he experienced in 1757, and which invalided him until 1760: his recovery he attributed to the skill and attention of Lucas.

With the duke of Bedford, lord Charlemont maintained a courteous and even cordial acquaintance, though not the same friendly intimacy which had subsisted between him and lord Hartington. The duke was zealous in preserving the English interest, and at first—acting under that ignorance of Irish affairs, which has always, but chiefly then, characterized the English councils—he was more uncompromising in trifles than he afterwards became, when a native sense of justice tempered his conduct, and induced him to take more comprehensive and liberal views of the rights of the people than had previously been adopted.

Among the earliest acts of the duke of Bedford, there was one which was very much adapted to raise unfavourable anticipations in Ireland. In the first year of his administration, on the 1st of November, a resolution was passed by the commons that "the pensions and salaries placed on the civil establishment in Ireland, since the 23d of March, 1755, amounted to the annual sum of £28,103; that several of such pensions were granted for long and unusual terms, and several to persons not resident in the kingdom; that granting so much of the public revenue in pensions was an improvident disposition of the revenue, an injury to the crown, and detrimental to the kingdom." It was ordered that the house should wait upon the lord-lieutenant, and

request that his excellency would transmit this resolution to the king. The duke demurred, and said he could not at once determine the propriety of acceding. Two days after, the house resolved "that all orders should be adjourned until the house should receive an answer from the lord-lieutenant." At this decided step, the secretary (Mr Rigby) was alarmed, and next day brought a message from the duke that the resolution of the 1st Nov. should be transmitted forthwith. Such facts, while they may help to illustrate the effect of extreme and hasty counsels, also show the existence of a formidable element of resistance, which cannot be too far seen and computed by statesmen. But such a concession was itself of deep importance in giving added impulse to the under-tone of nationality which compelled it. The duke of Bedford acted under the influence of the primate and Mr Rigby; to these, at least, his policy was attributed by lord Charlemont; his character has been exalted by praise which may well outweigh volumes of factious sarcasm; but the reader will perhaps recollect the terrific scalping of Junius, in his letter "To the duke of Bedford," some years after the time at which he now appears before us. Mr Rigby's name will also bring to remembrance some sentences that are not easily forgotten. Rigby was well known for his convivial talents, and was perhaps more honourably appreciated in the circles of Irish hospitality than as a servant of the administration. But it need not be said that there was a very wide distinction between the government politics in the two countries, and that an enlightened English nobleman, whatever were his party views, could not fail quickly to discern that the policy maintained towards Ireland was not in unison with the principles of any existing party or creed; there was not in England; there was not even in Ireland, any class of men whose views were then identified with the Irish privy council. He could not fail to discover a fact—since too little observed in the obscurity of that time, and in the heat of subsequent animosities—that the stern policy of the Irish government was the counsel of a small knot of powerful individuals. Though the recollections of history unquestionably were such as to suggest fears from the papal church in Ireland, as elsewhere; yet, practically, no prepossession then prevailed, to any extent, against them. Nor were their numbers, wealth, or importance, at the time, such as to work on the fears or animosities of any but a few, whose immediate interests involved some such sentiment. We are not here questioning the foundation for such sentiments, had they existed to any extent, but simply stating the fact, that the English population, or, more properly speaking, the protestant population in Ireland, were full of the most kindly sympathies toward their Romish brethren, and that there was a universal abhorrence against the iniquitous policy of the statutes which we have already noticed in the foregoing narrative. Of course, it must be understood that a powerful faction, however small in number, must be surrounded by a cloud of partisans, composed of those who are ignorant, those who are paid, and those whose private interests are concerned.

The duke was generally considered as actuated by the most unfavourable impressions; his peculiar politics, and the hereditary bias which Irishmen are so liable to feel and to impute, were considered by

the popular party in Ireland as boding no good. "Greatly," says Mr Hardy, "were such persons disappointed in the conduct of the duke of Bedford; and equally, though agreeably, disappointed were the catholics, in feeling the first rays of a more expanded protection beam on them from a quarter where they least expected it." On this Mr Hardy applies Virgil's lines—

"Via prima salutis,
Quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe."

Mr Hardy, were he now alive, might easily find in recent events far more striking applications for the same quotation. We are not, nevertheless, quite sure of the propriety of its application to an English whig nobleman, even though lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

There was during the duke of Bedford's administration a very prevalent rumour of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, though it does not very plainly appear from what quarter it proceeded. Mr Hardy conjectures that it arose from some convivial suggestion of Mr Rigby, who indulged much in social intercourse; and, from the constitution of town society at that period, such a hint, he supposes, would quickly spread. It is not improbable that it was a feeler—a straw thrown upon the wind of rumour; if so the indication was not doubtful, as great murmurs of discontent generally agitated the town; and the matter was presently forgotten.

We do not think it necessary to dwell at any length upon an event which occurred at this time, and created something of more serious alarm—the landing of 600 French in Carrickfergus bay. A more serious invasion was notoriously intended, but the victory of lord Hawke intercepted a squadron, which, with 18,000 men, had been destined for this expedition. Three frigates, however, entered that bay on the 21st Feb., 1760. There cannot be attached any very serious importance, under any circumstances, to so small a force landed in the North; but the little mischief they might have effected was prevented by the folly of the gentleman who commanded the expedition. His second in command, M. Thurot, a clever officer, who knew the country well, proposed a rapid descent upon Belfast; but M. Flobert, a disciple of the old school, could not conceive the propriety of leaving behind them a fortified city like Carrickfergus. The garrison was on parade, and there seems—notwithstanding a notice sent from the castle, of the probable expectation of such an event—to have been no kind of preparation: the officer on duty and his men thought the vessels to be English, and twelve boats were seen conveying armed men to Kilroot point before they guessed the truth. The French landed, and, with their usual expertness, availed themselves of hedge and ditch to advance securely. The commandant was, in the mean time, apprized of the circumstances, and the gates and avenues were guarded. The French came on and were received with a fire, which checked their advance, from a company which was advantageously posted for the purpose while they had been advancing. These had, however, but a few rounds of ammunition, which were expended in the first discharges, and they retired before the French, into the town. The French attacked both the north and south gates, and a warm fire continued for some

time. Between the two fires the gates were battered open; the garrison, too, had spent their store of ball, and when the firing slackened, the French attacked the gates sword in hand. They were here, however, repulsed after a very severe but rather tumultuary struggle, in which their opponents mainly consisted of the gentlemen of the town, and a few of the people, with colonel Jennings, lord Wallingford, captain Bland, lieutenant Ellis. In this struggle sticks and stones were not the least effective weapons; and this small party fought with such desperate zeal that the French, with all their cool discipline, were compelled to retire from the gate. The gate stood open with its brave defenders in front outside. They now consulted; a sally was urged—we presume by the townsmen—but colonel Jennings saw the hopelessness of resistance with his small garrison, destitute as they were of ammunition—the gates not tenable, and a breach of fifty paces in the wall: a parley was beaten, and verbal articles easily agreed upon. The garrison was permitted to march out with the honours of war. The castle was to receive no injury, and the city was not to be injured or plundered. In the mean time the alarm was diffused, and M. Thurot who perfectly understood the danger of remaining until a force could be collected, embarked and put to sea, leaving behind M. Flobert and a few men, who were too severely wounded for removal.*

On the very first intimation of these occurrences, Lord Charlemont, who was governor of Antrim, hurried off to his post, but was only time enough to receive those who had remained as prisoners. And it is mentioned by Mr Hardy that the French expressed great delight on meeting a person to whom they could express their distresses in their own language. He entered with his wonted humanity into their grievances, and obtained for them accommodations which they could not otherwise have had any hope of. M. Flobert is described as a man of strange character; he obtained leave to go to London, and requested permission to accompany lord Charlemont, who readily consented. M. Thurot had scarcely put to sea when he was intercepted by captain Elliot of H. M. ship Æolus, with two other ships, the Pallas and the Brilliant, which had for some days watched his movements, but were prevented by weather from entering the bay. An engagement ensued, and, after an hour and a half, the French vessels struck their colours. The entire force of every description in the captured vessels amounted to 1245, of which perhaps 800 may have been military.

The fact which most deserves the reader's attention in this, otherwise not very consequential event, is the general zeal shown by every class of the northern public; a universal spirit of resistance called up large bodies of the peasantry, armed as chance directed, and, had the exigency required, there can be little doubt that a formidable force must have been speedily assembled by the magistrates and country gentlemen, even though the government had been remiss. It was, most probably, the evidence of hostility thus shown that mainly induced the French to retire. In the first project of the expedition there can be little doubt that a reliance on the old and well-known

* Official letter by major-general Strode.

disaffection of the peasantry had been an element of the calculation. Thurot, though compelled (it is asserted) to put in by stress of weather, must, nevertheless, when he presumed to land, have calculated on the same consideration. But memorably different, indeed, was the result, and we have thought proper here to call attention to it as the early indication of the same spirit, which, from the same place, was, in a few years more, to produce results of a nature so critical in the fortunes of the nation. Lord Charlemont has himself left an interesting account of what he witnessed on his arrival in Belfast—we give this as extracted by Mr Hardy from his lordship's private papers. "The appearance of the peasantry who had thronged to its defence [the city of Belfast] many of whom were my own tenants, was singular and formidable. They were drawn up in regular bodies, each with its own chosen officers, and formed in martial array; some few with old firelocks, but the greater number armed with what is called in Scotland the Lochaber axe—a scythe fixed longitudinally to the end of a long pole—a desperate weapon, and which they would have made a desperate use of. Thousands were assembled in a small circuit; but these thousands were so thoroughly impressed with the necessity of regularity, that the town was perfectly undisturbed by tumult, by riot, or even by drunkenness."

In 1760, the duke of Bedford returned to England, and on the 12th of October, in the same year, George II. died; and a new reign properly commences this present division of our history.

The duke was succeeded by lord Halifax. With him, as secretary, came over the celebrated William Gerrard Hamilton, of whom we shall hereafter, when writing the life of Edmund Burke, offer some notice. Lord Charlemont first introduced Burke to his acquaintance, an incident to which Mr Hardy attributes Mr Burke's subsequent rise—on this, too, we have some remarks to make in due season.

The marriage of George III. was the next event which brings lord Charlemont conspicuously and most honourably forward. Many of the Irish peeresses who were in town had prepared to walk in their order at the royal nuptials, when, to their surprise, they received a notification from the duchess of Bedford to apprize them that they were to be excluded from the entire ceremonial. This most unnecessary insult could not be tacitly endured by the ladies of Ireland; and, according to Mr Hardy, they applied to lord Charlemont,—a compliment, than which a higher cannot well be imagined. Their selection was, indeed, sagacious, and well approved by his conduct on the occasion. With the prompt spirit which marks every portion of his life, he zealously entered into the insulted feelings of his fair countrywomen, and went the round of the Irish peerage then in town, to rouse their sense of shame, and obtain the advantage of their concert and influence, in a matter nearly concerning their honour. His mission was so far vain, and he had doubtless to accuse himself of "moving such a dish of skimmed milk to so honourable an action;" in more instances than one. It is, indeed, hard to avoid thinking that Mr Hardy may have had very inadequate information: the habitual subserviency of the Irish peerage of that day is hardly sufficient to account for so abject a renunciation of a right, which it was not very

just even to allow to depend on court precedent. No etiquette should, for a moment, be tolerated in the decision of a question which ought to have been felt to involve the real relation between the king and his Irish peerage. Lord Charlemont, after encountering the pain and the disgust of this recreant exhibition, at last found an ally in the lord Middleton.* With this nobleman he visited lord Halifax at his seat in Bushy-park, and stated the matter to his lordship. This nobleman, whose proper duty it should have been to interfere as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, gave a courteous reception to their statement, and immediately waited on the king, to whom he submitted the claim of the Irish ladies. The king could only have met such a statement in one way, and entered at once with the natural grace and kindness of his disposition into their feelings. It was answered, in consequence, to lord Charlemont, that a privy council was to sit on the next day, which should consider the claim which he advanced, and he was desired to have precedents in readiness for their consideration. Here again rose a most serious embarrassment; about precedents he knew nothing, and had no more than a few hours to make the necessary inquiries; the remainder of the day was spent in vain deliberation, but late at night (as we conjecture from Mr Hardy's statement) he fortunately recollected lord Egmont, then well known for his intimacy with heraldic lore.† It may be presumed that it was after a restless night that he knocked early next morning at that lord's door, and was introduced into his chamber before he had as yet risen from his bed. Happily, lord Egmont was full and satisfactory upon the subject of his inquiries, and undertook to furnish the required precedents in writing, which he did on the spot. These were instantly forwarded to lord Halifax, by whom they were submitted to the council, and excited an angry opposition, which may help to show the contempt which at that time lay upon Ireland. It is not easy to say with certainty what might have been the decision of a cabinet council, in which so pertinacious an opposition was exerted, but king George acted with the equitable decision for which the occasion evidently called, and cut short the paltry conflict of the lowest display which human pride admits of, by ordering that the Irish nobility should walk according to their ranks at the ceremonial. To complete the service thus rendered to his countrywomen, and, through them, to Ireland, and, as it must easily appear, to the two kingdoms, lord Charlemont exerted himself to prevail on many of the Irish nobility to take the places thus confirmed to them, and then took due care to have their names inserted in the ceremonial.

During the administration of lord Halifax, commenced those popular factions, the Whiteboys, Hearts of Oak, &c., with which the progress of Ireland has, until very recent times, been so fatally encumbered. In the previous course of history for several hundred years, the political disturbances of Ireland had assumed the pretext of religion. But at this time the main causes of popular discontent were

* George Brodrick, 3d viscount Middleton of Middleton, in the county of Cork.

† Lord Egmont had written a book on the rights of the Irish Peerage.

of a kind far more adapted to come home to the peasant's bosom; the tyranny and selfishness of the landlords appeared in the most shameful extortion. The origin of the Whiteboys is thus explained:—In Munster, several of the landlords having set their lands at an exorbitant rent, endeavoured to conciliate the tenants by allowing them the commonage of certain waste lands. They afterwards enclosed these lands. The people had recourse to violence. As the nature of such violence is to accumulate force and fury, extensive outrages were committed. The gentry, unable to suppress the spirit they had raised, had the dexterity to give it a safe direction. When the rabble were once organized, and a system of outrage began, the sectarian zeal, which is never far behind when mobs are congregated from any cause, was easily turned upon the protestant clergy. The landlords themselves, as ready to oppress the clergy as the people, gladly seized on the pretext, which helped both to raise a prejudice against the ministers of a religion which they professed to follow, and which helped to conceal the real causes. The Whiteboys were suppressed; but neither was the cause removed, nor the angry spirit calmed. Other disturbances arose in the north. The roads were made and kept in repair by the housekeepers—the labour of six days in the year was exacted from man and horse—and a general complaint, mainly excited by the severity of overseers, at last broke out in violence. The peasantry had been additionally exasperated by the common feeling that those roads were not generally for the public convenience, but more generally for the convenience of the landlords: they were called *job roads*. One parish openly refused to make any more; the contagion spread, and soon extended over the province. Having commenced in real grievances, with the ordinary rapidity of popular passion they soon went on to imaginary complaints, and the general redress of wrongs. The tithes next, and then, in due course, the rents, became the object of their wisdom. A little bloodshed suppressed the north, as it had done the south. The northern discontents had, nevertheless, arisen on grounds less obnoxious to landlords, and they were taken into consideration in the ensuing session of parliament. The old act was repealed, and, by a more equal burthen, a new provision made for the roads.

In the course of the next few years, other similar risings took place. Those which we have here more especially noticed, are now chiefly important to impress the consideration so apt to be overlooked in the two opposite aspects of Irish party feeling; first, that the general tendency to popular insubordination, manifested on various occasions, from the time of which we speak to far more recent periods, were essentially unconnected with religious feeling; while, at the same time, they generally assumed that character to a sufficient extent to justify the prejudices, which, connecting present and past events, assigned them the character they took upon themselves. The wisdom of party is not responsible for nice distinctions. When a popular faction, or its advocates, assume a character for their purposes, they lose the right of coming into court and pleading that such was not their character.

These statements may help to set in a clear light the opinions which were then unfavourable to the Roman church in this country. It may

be understood why a class, looking with an indiscriminate eye on the past, saw only the dangerous organization under the influence of a foreign cabinet, so often ostentatiously pretended, and so often effectively manifested in former days. And also, why even the utmost extent of liberality went no further than the wish to ease the upper ranks of that church from the pressure of a law at once insulting, inconvenient, and ineffective for any of its intended purposes. It may thus be understood how it was that the well-known liberality of lord Charlemont went no further than this limited view, while he considered it impolitic in any way to relax the laws which excluded the same classes from those professions which were the only resources for the younger sons of the gentry. The general consequence was, that the only resource left for them was foreign service; and of this the evil consequences had, in the previous century, been made very apparent by the rebellion of Sir Phelim O'Neale, which, as we have already related, was mainly organized abroad, and, in the first instance, carried into effect by Irishmen trained in the Spanish service. These considerations were now taken by the wrong end. The remedy of such an evil, supposing it still to have existence, would appear to be most effectively sought in the redress of the grievance of which it was the necessary result; but a different view seems to have presented itself to the government. An application was made by the Portuguese government for aid from England. The plan was formed to allow six Irish regiments to be raised and taken into the Portuguese service. It was proposed by secretary Hamilton, in that celebrated speech which has acquired for its speaker the title of "single-speeched," and thus carried down to posterity the impression that he never spoke but once.* The measure was strongly opposed, on the ground of the danger which, it was alleged, must arise from the arming and training so large a number of the members of the papal church. The motion failed. It may help to elucidate the position which we are anxious to place in the fullest force,—that there was a weight of old prepossession still adding its effective weight to other causes, which have been too hastily, and somewhat invidiously, placed alone in the discussion of ancient grievances. Condemning with our whole force all intolerance and political exclusiveness, on every abstract ground, we shall, at every stage of our history, not fail to mark out the distinctions which are confused by party, for purposes which cannot be justified. Up to a certain point, (now easy to fix with some accuracy,) the exclusion from political power of a large class, can be demonstrated as absolutely essential, on every ground which is available for the proof of any political right. That the general prepossession which grew out of such a state of things will necessarily long survive the necessity from which it originated, is a proposition as deeply founded in human nature, as the former in sound political theory, need not be proved. The sentiment existing at that period in favour of protestant ascendancy, so far from being liable to the ignorant aspersion of modern partisans, was then as fixed in the

* "Never," says Mr Hardy, "had such an oration been uttered within those walls."

reason of the age as any law of nature. It was sternly held by the most liberal politicians who had any pretension to honesty or moderation, and was even admitted by the more informed and better ranks of that class, upon whom it fell with such apparent severity. We have lingered a little in our narrative at this point, that we may express our views freely on the subject of liberty and toleration, without being supposed by any reader to have adopted the fallacies or extreme notions of that liberalist faction, with whose language and sentiments we must often for the future be found partially coincident. And we must entreat to have it kept in view, that in such cases the only resource we have against the appearance of inconsistency, is in those comprehensive distinctions which vindicate the fact, that we are endeavouring to steer as free as we can between both of the great public parties who have engaged on the same field. We shall here quote a sentence written by lord Charlemont—not that we agree with its whole purport, but because it exhibits the real opinion of his age, free from every stain of private interest or factious tendency—"The situation of the catholic gentry of Ireland was at this time truly deplorable. The hostile statutes enacted against them, however their necessity may have ceased, were still unrepealed, and respecting devise and inheritance, they laboured under the greatest hardships. In time, however, it might be hoped that these difficulties would be palliated, or perhaps removed; but they were subject to one inconvenience, which seemed to be so interwoven with the existence of a protestant interest and government, that sound policy, and, indeed, necessity, must for ever prevent its being remedied." Here, then, is the whole liberal creed of that day, in its length and breadth, and in its most respectable form.

The immediate interval of Irish history, on which we have hitherto been led to dwell, is that which historians have generally seen reason to pass with slight notice, as deficient in interest, and not marked by important events. From such an estimate we see no great reason to dissent; we have, nevertheless, selected some details, with a view to convey some distinct notion of the calm, or perhaps torpor, which preceded a period unparalleled for the interest and rapid succession of the passions by which it was agitated, and the events it brought forth. Within the stagnant interval thus described, one event occurred, which may be regarded as the beginning of another order of things, and as the first step of a revolution, the greatest which happened in the fortunes of Ireland from the invasion of Strongbow. To this we shall at once pass.

From time to time, as has appeared, ineffectual efforts were made to remedy the main defects in the legal constitution of Ireland. They were always defeated with uniform facility by the vigilance of the Irish administration. The enormous pension-list was a standing subject of complaint—the independence of the judges was another primary object of vain contest—and, in 1765, this latter subject was introduced with increased spirit, but with the old result. It was felt that the opposition was rather gaining, than losing ground in the contest for objects to which, after every disappointment, they still more pertinaciously returned. It was also probably regarded as no

unimportant advantage, that at this period two of their most formidable antagonists were removed from the scene. The Irish administration was deprived of the ability of two consummate managers of party—primate Stone and lord Shannon—who both died in December, 1764.

Till this time the Irish commons held their seats for the life of the king—an extreme from which the unconstitutional influence of the crown was an immediate and evident consequence. It amounted virtually to an entire separation of interest between the representation and the people. In proportion as the constituency began to obtain a real existence, such an evil would also grow into increased effect, and begin to be more and more felt: and such an indication of political vitality at this time was beginning to grow very apparent and very troublesome to the government. Of all measures that could well be conceived, the limitation of parliaments would strike most directly and closely at the root of corrupt power. In 1765, under the administration of lord Hertford, there was much activity displayed by county meetings through the kingdom, in which numerous resolutions and addresses to this effect were carried. In Dublin, a meeting of the citizens published a declaration, and instructed the city members to unite in this paramount and fundamental effort.

The history of this important and influential measure is curious, as related in some detail by the earl of Charlemont. Some doubts have been expressed as to these details, but we do not participate in these doubts, and shall notice here some incidents of a preliminary nature, which may have contributed much to the events which followed; so much, indeed, that they might well seem (what we would not absolutely affirm) to be the consistent parts of the same manœuvre. Providence worked favourably for Ireland. In the previous year the Irish commons had shown a very unusual degree of jealousy on the right of altering their bills, assumed by the British council; they had entered into a resolution that no bill should pass in their house until a committee appointed for that purpose should first have compared the bill returned with the original heads, and report if there were any, and what alterations. Again, acting on this resolution, with a pertinacity which did not spare even their own most anxious wishes, in 1767, after they had prepared and transmitted the heads of a most important bill to secure the independence of the judges, when it was returned they rejected it after such a comparison. It is therefore, on viewing these premises, very strongly apparent that their conduct, under almost any circumstances, would be counted on with some confidence by the British privy council; and, farther, it is also apparent that, if the British cabinet really desired to pass any measure through the Irish commons, that they would have taken due care not to raise so visible an obstacle to their success. Respecting the particular measure here under consideration, it was generally understood that a majority of the Irish members themselves had no great desire for a measure, which, being in a very high degree popular, was in a manner forced upon them from without. With these unfavourable dispositions on both sides, we shall now state the account given in Mr Hardy's narration.

The measure of abridging the duration of parliaments having been ineffectually and insincerely entertained, first, in 1761, was now, in 1767, under the administration of lord Townshend, taken up with more earnestness. The commons had been sorely pressed with the reproaches of the people; and, galled by numerous writings and public discussions, calculated to render them unpopular, they now once more took up the question, and transmitted the heads of a bill for the limitation of parliament to seven years. The privy council, actuated by what motives the reader may infer, changed it to eight years, and returned it so changed to Ireland. Contrary to the general expectation, and to the consternation of many, it passed. It was still hoped that it would be cashiered in the Irish privy council; and it is apparent that some such design was entertained. The bill was detained for two sessions; but the facts had transpired, and were become known to the public, and the clamour was long, loud, and irresistible. The rest may be conveyed in a story told by lord Charlemont. "He happened," writes Mr Hardy, "to dine with one of the great parliamentary leaders; a large company, and, as Bubb Doddington says of some of his dinners with the Pelhams, 'much drink and much good humour.'" In the midst of this festivity the papers and letters of the last English packet, which had just come in, were brought into the room, and given to the master of the house. Scarcely had he read one or two of them when it appeared that he was extremely agitated. The company was alarmed. "What's the matter? Nothing, we hope, has happened that ——" "Happened!" exclaimed their kind host, swearing most piteously. "Happened! the septennial bill is returned." A burst of joy from lord Charlemont and the very few real friends of the bill who happened to be present. The majority of the company, confused, and, indeed, almost astounded, began, after the first involuntary dejection of their features, to recollect that they had openly, session after session, voted for this bill, with many an internal curse, Heaven knows! But still they had uniformly been its loudest advocates; and that, therefore, it would be somewhat decorous not to appear too much cast down at their own unexpected triumphs. In consequence of these politic reflections, they endeavoured to adjust their looks to the joyous occasion as well as they could. But they were soon spared the labour of assumed felicity. "The bill is not only returned," continued their chieftain, "but the parliament is dissolved." "Dissolved, dissolved! why dissolved?" "My good friends, I can't tell you why or wherefore; but dissolved it is, or will be directly."— "Hypocrisy," says Mr H., "could lend its aid no further," and a sullen taciturnity fell upon the board. Taking advantage of this blank moment, lord Charlemont withdrew from the group, "than which, a more ridiculous, rueful set of personages, in his life, he said, he never beheld."

The English government must have strongly felt the necessity of shaking off the grasping and encumbering influence of this class of persons, so well described in the foregoing extract, and their patrons the borough-mongers, by whose means they had hitherto ruled the country. Hard to be kept in order, at a mighty cost, and impossible to satisfy, it was now for some time beginning to be felt that they were becoming yearly

less efficient in the work for which they were courted, flattered, and paid. A national spirit had been springing up around them, and they had not only been compelled to give way, but it was also felt that the disgrace and unpopularity of their characters, their tyranny and unconstitutional conduct, were reflected upon the administration which had recourse to such an unworthy instrumentality. From time to time, men of ability and spirit stood up to expose the system and its effects, with so much force and fulness as no underhand game of venality and deception could long continue to endure; and, if Ireland were for a few years longer to submit, yet such resources were not fit to be sported in the light of full and public exposure. The clouds and shadows of dawn were melting away during the advance of morn, and the night-haunting crew, with their deeds of darkness, could not much longer affront the daylight with impunity. The English government had no desire for the independence of parliament; but, far more anxious to unfetter themselves from the loathsome arms of that prostitute influence by which they were at the same time upheld, controlled, impoverished, and debased, they made their election, and secured for Ireland the first great step of political revival.

To trace out the few events which intervened between this and the great events of 1777, will not occupy many paragraphs. But we may observe here, that the vast expansion of the popular spirit in Ireland was fully shown by the reception of the octennial bill. It awakened a frenzy of delight; and the lord-lieutenant's carriage was drawn by the citizens, when he returned from the house, after giving the royal assent to it.

The parliament was dissolved, but a new parliament was not to meet for sixteen months, which time was considered necessary, to enable lord Townshend to complete his arrangements, by detaching the new members from their patrons. This important undertaking, of which the result was to be eventually of far different importance than was anticipated by any one, was to be effected by the most enormous corruption. The great boroughmongers could be secured by the various resources within the ordinary disposal of every administration. The subalterns were to be purchased at a ready-money sacrifice. The success was very considerable, but not entire, when the parliament was next assembled, in 1769. They had included in their drag-net some intractable and dangerous fishes.

A money bill, not originating in the commons, was thrown out unceremoniously. This defeat caused sensible mortification, and the more, as the popular party was joined by many of the castle retainers, who had in their bargain reserved to themselves some latitude. This resistance of the house of commons is the more remarkable, as it is the first instance, for nearly eighty years previous, on which they had manifested any determined spirit on the subject of money bills. An English journal, of a popular character, animadverted upon it in terms which strongly manifest the surprise it must have given, and the low idea of Ireland then entertained in England by any party. "The refusal of the late bill, because it was not brought in contrary to the practice of ages, in violation of the constitution, and to the certain ruin of the dependence of Ireland upon Great Britain, is a behaviour more suiting an army of

Whiteboys, than the grave representatives of a nation. This is the most daring insult yet offered to government," &c. In consequence of this act of resistance in the commons, lord Townshend prorogued the parliament, and in his speech pronounced a severe rebuke, in which he expounded to them the laws by which they were bound. The commons forbade their clerk from entering his speech upon their journals, and he entered his protest in the house of lords. Against this irregular proceeding five lords protested—viz., Lowth, Charlemont, Mountmorris, Powerscourt, and Longford. In any proceeding of the period, it would be vain to reason strictly upon right. Every act was more or less anomalous, and acts grounded on expediency were protected by a virtual irresponsibility. A crime in England liable to impeachment would have here been little more than a mistake. But assuredly, if the question thus opened were to be strictly looked into, the commons had right on their side. That the law of Poynings was clearly against them, may be admitted, on a plain construction of its *whole* sense. If there is any ambiguity to be allowed, it was strictly explained by subsequent statutes of Philip and Mary. But it was an established custom by which, under the form of "heads of bills," the commons had been allowed to originate such bills as they thought fit. Under the sanction of this form, they had uniformly been allowed the privilege of originating the money bills. They had acquired a prescriptive right, which may be considered as standing on the same ground as the similar constitutional privilege of the English commons, which is merely custom from time immemorial. The objection would, it is true, in the case of Ireland, arise from the terms of distinct enactments. The Irish privilege was opposed to the letter of the statute, and might be viewed as an usurpation; but it was an old one, and in strict conformity with the most recognised constitutional maxims. The whole system arising out of the laws of Henry VII., and of Philip and Mary, &c., was a gross anomaly—an exception in the statutes. The actual customs amounted to an admission of this truth; and the violation, in the present instance, of those customs, was an express declaration of a despotic power. It was made more glaring by other violations of a similar tendency, which were as directly against express law as against established right;—we mean those declarations of the British parliament, which had been occasionally made. The incident on which we have been remarking, itself led to some very strong language,—"Always considering that it is one of our most essential duties to maintain inviolate the supreme authority of the legislature of Great Britain over every part of the dominions of your majesty's crown." This language, directly applied to the conduct of America, was understood to be intended to glance at that of the Irish parliament, and greatly helped the growing ferment there. There was also another incidental circumstance which produced a strong sensation in the commons. One of the members of the Irish administration let fall a hint that the money bill was in the nature of a fine for the renewal of the parliament. The main ground taken by the opposition in the parliament was constitutional, and seems to be more strong in itself than strictly applicable to a question of settled usage: the people, they affirmed, had no right to pay taxes laid on by the Irish privy council. But the reply must be so obvious, that we

need not state it: it is answered by the fact of their rejection of the bill.

The great aristocratic families, now beginning to feel themselves in some measure unseated from their place of influence, and seeing the further danger to which such proceedings on both sides would expose them, must at this time have felt no small embarrassment. They could not, without much reserve, act with either the government, which aimed itself to supersede their influence, or with the opposition, which was more directly opposed to that influence. They were by habits and prejudices bound to the general policy of administration; and thus while they lent themselves in parliament to the measures of the council, they were at the same time loud in their appeals to the people, against the course by which their authority in the elections had been tampered with and diminished.

After the prorogation, an interval of fourteen months elapsed, during which the liberality of lord Townshend's gratuities had full time to work; and on the next meeting, in February, 1771, a new spirit of compliance manifested itself in an address, which caused the speaker, Mr John Ponsonby, through whom it should have been presented, to resign. In the conclusion, they thanked his majesty "for continuing his excellency, lord Townshend, in the government of this kingdom." On this, Mr Ponsonby observed that this lord had, "on the last day of last session, accused them of a great crime," and that the thanks appeared to him "to convey a censure of the proceedings, and a relinquishment of the privileges of the commons." Mr Edmond Sexton Pery was, in consequence, chosen speaker, in the room of one worthy to preside over a more dignified assembly. The earl of Charlemont had made great but vain efforts to induce Ponsonby to keep the chair, and had thought himself successful; but after a night spent in reasonings to which the speaker assented, he was the next day surprised by the event. Though silent in the house, lord Charlemont was effectively the leader of the opposition through the whole proceedings of which we have here endeavoured to give an abridged view. His earnest zeal, and persevering alacrity—his constant good sense, and engaging manner, gave him universal weight among the better classes.

To keep our narrative unbroken, we omitted to mention that, in 1768, his lordship had married Miss Hickman, daughter of Mr Robert Hickman, of the county of Clare. It was, perhaps, something about the same time, or immediately after, that he built his house in Rutland Square, and also that at Marino. He was, it appears from a letter of his published in Mr Hardy's memoir, deterred from residing on his estates in the north of Ireland by the delicacy of his constitution, which required the vicinity of the sea, and ready access to the best medical advice. It is also, we conceive, an evident inference from his whole life and character, that he felt a strong parental feeling for the yet infant liberties of his country too strongly to quit the scene of political life. To him, indeed, with more than its mere figurative power, belongs the application of that expression which Mr Grattan applies somewhere to himself on another occasion, of having "watched her cradle." This part, at least, of that rhetorical antithesis was just and true for lord Charlemont.

The success of lord Townshend's administration now began more distinctly to be seen. The spirited resolutions, and the determined resistance of the opposition, were completely borne down by the government party, which appeared re-enforced by several clever young men brought in by lord Townshend, and by several additions to the peerage, which counterbalanced the growing opposition in the upper house. In consequence, every proposal for the good of the country was thrown overboard with a high hand. The burthen of misapplied taxation, the commercial and agricultural disadvantages, and other prominent defects which we shall presently have to detail, were vainly pressed by the party of lord Charlemont. At the same time, however, the attention of the opposition party in the British house of commons was forcibly awakened by the recent discussions on the rejected money bill, and some spirited proceedings took place, which showed that a just sense of the claims of Ireland was beginning to take root. But of this more decided manifestations were ere long to show themselves.

Lord Townshend was recalled in 1772. He had been successful in a high degree in effectuating the plan of policy for which he had been sent. But, on the whole, we see reason to suspect that the British government was disappointed in the result. In the mean time, a clearer insight had been obtained on the real interests and just claims of Ireland; and though the Irish privy council had been enabled to assert a strong control, it was becoming equally manifest that the opposition was also advanced in weight, intelligence, and general concert with the sense of the nation. If great power had been obtained, its limitations were become more apparent, and its exercise more unpopular. It is mentioned by some writers that lord Townshend was censured by the British cabinet, for not maintaining the dignity of the Irish court. He was a wit of the first water; and the house was told, by one of its members, that his lordship said more good things in one night than the whole house in a year. He won many friends by the charms of good fellowship, and the grace of free and liberal hospitality, so attractive to the Irish of the last century.

He was succeeded by lord Harcourt, a most amiable man. He was, however, less active and determined, and to some extent addicted to retirement and study, and of a temper too fastidious for the coarse jocularity which then pervaded the manners of this country. He had not, however, any formidable difficulty to encounter. The address of his predecessor had secured for him a tame parliament; and, so long as it lasted, no very formidable difficulty could be encountered. His secretary, De Blaquiere, on whom the burthen of public affairs fell, was qualified to make amends for the deficiency of the viceroy. He kept the best wine, and a first-rate French cook: he caught the manners, and cultivated the tastes of his supporters, with rapid tact. It was alleged in his praise, that he was the first secretary who ever bestowed a thought on the consideration of Irish interests—a strange, and yet highly probable affirmation.

We have omitted to mention somewhat earlier an event in the previous administration, of which the result belongs rather to a subsequent time, to which we shall now hurry on. A nobleman's agent in the north endeavoured to increase his employer's income by a most oppres-

sive arrangement, in consequence of which a large portion of a numerous protestant tenantry were compelled to throw up their farms, and driven into a state of destitution. They sought redress by a rising, and took the name of "Hearts of steel." Acts of dangerous concession increased their confidence, and multiplied their force; and, as usual with mobs of every country imperfectly governed, they presently set up to redress general grievances of every kind. They were put down by the necessary measures. But we only notice this rising to mention the result. Many thousand protestants emigrated to America, where they exerted no slight influence in exciting the spirit of resistance which soon after began to appear.

Of the American war we shall have to say more hereafter; but it must now be briefly noticed as the critical event on which the most important changes of the period were to turn.

The financial difficulties of the English government had, owing to various causes, unnecessary to detail in this place, been accumulating in an increasing ratio, during the two previous reigns; and various means were adopted, of which some were calculated to postpone and increase the difficulties; until at last the administration of lord Townshend conceived the unfortunate yet specious expedient of taxing the American colonies. The colonies, as ought to have been foreseen, resisted, and the resistance awoke and brought into action, those revolutionary elements with which the American states were then surcharged. From one step to another, resistance grew on from the stamp act in 1765, till the tax on tea, ten years later, terminated the prolonged dispute in war.

The effects bore with destructive pressure on Ireland. In England a great and most unhappy error prevailed as to the resources of this country. As her internal wealth was measured by a trade, which, contracted and impeded as it was, yet bore a disproportioned ratio to the state of the people, there was comparatively little internal consumption, and the means and produce of the country were poured nearly whole into the foreign markets. The public, considered with reference to wealth, consisted of the mercantile community alone, who (if we may transmute a well-known phrase,) constituted "patriam in patriâ." In 1773, a large debt had been created, and Irish rents, with the interest of this debt, were spent in England. So that when trade fell off, there was neither export nor internal consumption; and a universal poverty, with all its frightful concomitants, pervaded every class.

In an address at this time moved in the Irish house, we find several statements upon this distressed condition of the country, which may be regarded as the most authentic. The Irish debt is there stated to be £994,890, at the end of the previous session, with considerable arrears; on which a great exertion was made by loans and new duties, to equalize the revenue with the expenditure. The address states, that they adopted the calculations of the administration, and relied on the promises of ministers in vain. That they were now under the necessity of informing his majesty, that the result of all their efforts was only to show that they had arrived "at that point of taxation, where the imposition of new duties lowers the old ones." They represent the funds on which

they might borrow as exhausted, and their only resource, a tax on spirits, as the last sad proof of their duty and zeal. The expenses for the last two previous years, ending Lady-day 1775, had exceeded the revenue by £247,749,* and the expedient of a tontine was again adopted to raise £175,000. Among the disadvantages attendant on this method of raising money, it was observed that the subscribers being almost all London merchants, the annuities were an additional exhaustion of the Irish specie.

A very general interest was felt in the progress of the American war. One incident may help to show the nature of this public sentiment. Lord Howard of Effingham, on learning that his regiment was destined for the American service, resigned his command,—for which the city of Dublin voted him its thanks, for having like a true Englishman refused to draw his sword against the lives and liberties of his fellow-subjects in America; and soon after, the guild of merchants presented him with another address of a still more decided character. This guild also addressed the peers of the opposition, who, "in support of the constitution, and in opposition to a weak and wicked administration, protested against the American restraining bills." These are but a few specimens of numerous indications of the same tendency.

In February 1766, a proclamation of the lord-lieutenant and council was issued, laying an embargo on Irish provisions of every kind, except to Great Britain and British dominions not in rebellion, not otherwise restricted. This proceeding was considered illegal, and was resisted by a member in the house, the honourable George Ogle, who made a large shipment of beef to Bourdeaux.

We are reluctantly compelled to pass much that is important and interesting in the occurrences of this year, as quite inconsistent with the main scale of our history. The effects of the embargo were most extensive and afflicting. We should indeed have simply to repeat the foregoing statements with added force, but no great variety of details. The complaints of 1766 are but louder, more widely spreading, and sadder echoes of 1765.

Lord Harcourt was recalled, and lord Buckinghamshire sent in his room. As the Irish parliament had been latterly manifesting signs of an intractable spirit, great efforts had been made to secure and extend the influence thus endangered. Many new peerages restored the balance in the house of lords; no less than 18 new peers having been created in one day. The new viceroy himself, not without moderate talents and some knowledge of business, brought over with him as his secretary, a Mr Heron, the agent of his estates,—a person totally incapable of even comprehending, much less endeavouring to meet, the complication of difficulties and distresses of the country at a season of unparalleled emergency.

But more decisive events and more over-ruling influences, were at the same time in rapid preparation. And the struggle on which the future destiny of Ireland was to depend, seems to have passed into other

* This motion was rejected, but is not the less authoritative, as it expresses the truths which it was the policy of the Irish council to suppress.

hands. The British administration at last thoroughly convinced of the critical state of Ireland, entered directly and liberally on the question of her sufferings and interests; and it is plain that in the English council there existed a disposition to do the fullest justice. And we must here add, that though in the first efforts, this liberal disposition was frustrated by the interests and prejudices of the English people; we are still inclined to refer to it many of the salutary measures, and even concessions which were afterwards attributed to more immediate and ostensible influences.

On the motion of lord Nugent, a committee was appointed in the English house of commons, to consider the trade of Ireland, and several resolutions were made in its favour, on which bills were framed. We do not enumerate them, as they were interrupted by very violent petitions from several of the most influential of the English trading towns, which were alarmed at any extension of the trade of Ireland. On this a very violent and protracted opposition took place, and the struggle was, for the occasion, compromised for some enlargements in favour of the linen trade.

The same liberality was more effectively exerted upon a question on which there was happily a prevailing unanimity of sentiment. The gentry of the Roman church were at last freed from the oppression of a law, at the same time cruel and inefficacious, which compelled them to hold their estates by evasions and connivances, insulting to their feelings and disgraceful to the legislature. Hitherto, their main resource against this unfortunate law had been fictitious conveyances to their protestant relations and friends, and a story is told that in one of the southern counties, a great part of the landed property was thus vested in a poor barber. The Irish judges also had to the utmost extent of their discretion, interrupted the operation of these iniquitous statutes, chiefly by the obstacles which they contrived to throw in the way of informers. And in some cases of great hardship, where there was no other resource, the legislature itself interfered by special acts. It was, under any conceivable modification, a dismal state of things, when the most respectable persons were compelled to stand in awe of the basest. "This species of universal subserviency," writes Mr Burke, "that makes the very servant who stands behind your chair, the arbiter of your life and fortune, has such a tendency to degrade and debase mankind, and to deprive them of that assured and liberal state of mind, which alone can make us what we ought to be, that I vow to God I would sooner bring myself to put a man to immediate death for opinions I disliked, and so get rid of the man and his opinions at once, than to fret him with a feverish being, tainted with the jail distemper of a contagious servitude, &c." A bill was introduced by Mr Luke Gardner, in 1778, "for the relief of his majesty's subjects of this kingdom professing the popish religion." By this bill all the severe enactments of William and Mary, affecting the tenure of property, with other penal regulations, were entirely removed. A similar measure was introduced by Sir George Saville, in the British house of commons, and passed without a single opposing vote. On this liberality it is here just to remark, that it went to the utmost extent, which, according to the political opinions of that period, was consistent with the safety of the

kingdom. Nor were the nobility and gentry of the church of Rome of a different opinion. The language of the Romish aristocracy in England was moderate and reasonable; they simply put forward, as with truth they might, their own unshaken and unsuspected loyalty. "We have patiently," they stated, "submitted to such restrictions and discouragements as the legislature thought expedient. We have thankfully received such relaxations of the rigour of the laws, as the mildness of an enlightened age, and the benignity of your majesty's government have gradually produced; and we submissively wait, without presuming to anticipate either time or measure, for such other indulgence as those happy causes cannot fail to effect." This meritorious spirit of patient moderation, thus shown, had long acted upon the national good sense and good feeling of the English nation; there no unhappy recurrences of party appeal to religious animosity had kept alive the prejudices of earlier times, till they had long survived their substantial causes. The English Romanists were but British subjects, and one among the numerous communions which acknowledge one crown, constitution, and standard. When the measure of Sir G. Saville was proposed, it was met with one sentiment of approbation. From Mr Burke's public statement already quoted, we learn in the most authoritative form, that not only the whole house of commons, but the "whole house of lords, the whole bench of bishops, the king, the ministry, the opposition, all the distinguished clergy of the establishment, all the eminent lights, (for they were consulted), of the dissenting churches; all were unanimous in their agreement." Happily then, this was not a great question—the ground of contending factions, and implicated with a dangerous complexity of considerations—it could be, and was, met simply on its own simple grounds.

We have now at length arrived at the critical point of Irish history, and may proceed more freely onward. The state of Ireland had become such as to make it apparent, that the game of expedients was at an end. From end to end, poverty, distress, and insolvency, lay like a cloud upon the land—the plainest statements drawn from the custom-house, and compared with the remittances of public money, exhibited the then startling fact, that these remittances amounted to more than double the sum accruing to Ireland from her entire exports. It was felt by every one at all conversant in public affairs, that such a state of things could not continue. The distress of England gave added force and weight to the cry of Ireland, and to the clamour for justice and relief which came monthly louder and louder over the channel. And while heated discussions on Irish rights were introduced and thrown out in the British parliament; and the Irish parliament, more within the sphere of the national sufferings, was assuming a firmer and less factious tone—incidents from without gave the ultimate direction to events.

The Irish channel was now become infested by American privateers which seized on trading vessels within sight of the shore. The Irish traders were, for the first time, compelled to sail under convoy along the very coast; and a great part of the English trade was compelled to be carried on in foreign bottoms. For a little time the British public was enabled to shut its eyes to the danger—the trade attendant

on the war itself cast a gleam of delusion on eyes willing to be deluded, while unequivocal symptoms of ruin affected all the permanent branches of trade, and bankruptcies thickened in every quarter. France continued to temporize, and, while she in every underhand manner abetted the Americans, still held out the language of pacific intention. A play of remonstrances and illusory compliances continued for some time to be carried on till May, when France having gained all the objects of procrastination, declared a treaty of commerce with America, in which the colonies were considered as independent, and concluded with a very intelligible intimation of preparations to act in concert with America for the maintenance of their treaty. And never did ambition and political bad faith more surely lay the fatal train which was to eventuate in a dreadful retribution, than the French court, when it thus cast its weight and sanction into this commencement of a great revolution, in the *vortex* of which it was in a few years more to occupy the bloody centre. In this critical moment, "when transatlantic liberty arose,"

> "Not in the sunshine and the smile of heaven,
> But wrapt in whirlwinds and begirt with woes,"

duplicity, and rashness, extravagance, financial blundering, and despotism, singularly combined with the admission and encouragement of political and philosophical charlatanism, and the normal school of sedition, that sent out its emissaries into all the surrounding countries, made France the depository of collecting woes and crimes for the evil day that was ere long to rise for her chastisement.

Ireland, to which, from time immemorial, the enemies of England had directed the artifices and resources of secret intrigue, had not in the beginning of the great strife been overlooked by either America or France. But here the spirit of the people had widely changed, and there was a general sense entertained, that a more fair and liberal disposition towards the country had already begun to grow in England. The motions which had recently been made in the British house of commons, in favour of Irish interests, though frustrated by local opposition, had yet plainly manifested the friendly disposition of the higher authorities and the better classes—liberal concessions too, had actually been made, and a general sentiment was awakened of hopeful expectation; with this there was a gloomy recollection that rebellion had only woven and rivetted chains, and laid waste the very sources of renovation. The addresses of America had excited temporary heat; but the better and then more influential portion of the Irish people reciprocated the maxims and precepts of patriotism and of freedom, neither in the hostile temper of America, nor in the fanatic, mystical, and rationalizing temper of the volatile Parisians, but after their own peculiar spirit with a religious frame of heart, and bent of opinion, on which, infidelity, the great relaxer of all principles, could not tell with any wide effect,—a native shrewdness not easy to be fooled by new delusions, though not proof against as strong a tendency to old prejudices,—a natural though mixed and variously tempered loyalty, and a rising hope of better times. These saner influences operated at the moment with some conditions of a differ-

ent kind, among which we shall now only delay to notice one—that the large class of Irish among whom the seeds of internal disorganization might with most apparent probability be looked for, were then, neither in strength nor intelligence, in the least degree formidable.

Such was the general state of affairs when a moment of great and nearly unexampled alarm arose and prevailed both in England and Ireland, and the fear of invasion by a French fleet became universal. The combined French and American fleet rode freely through the channel, and the harbour of Dublin was fortified for the first time. The great commercial city of the north, Belfast, applied for protection to the government: the secretary replied by an acknowledgment of weakness, and they were offered half a troop of dismounted cavalry and half a corps of invalids. This acknowledgment of helplessness was tantamount to a free commission of self-defence, and prompt and effective was the conduct with which it was answered. The city immediately formed a volunteer corps, to which they elected officers, and which was armed, clothed, and maintained, at its own expense. The example ran through all the northern towns. The town of Armagh raised the corps which was immediately commanded by lord Charlemont.

As the rise and growth of the volunteers were prompt, sudden, and rapid, so the effects were immediate, extensive, and various. The government was alarmed; the enemy was disconcerted; and a deep and pervading sense became universal, though cautiously as well as generously suppressed, that without any one act of disloyalty or disaffection, but with the sanction of the most honourable and righteous occasions, Ireland, for the first time, held her own fortune in her hands.

The government was dismayed because they at once saw the whole strength of the position thus obtained, while they were far from any anticipation of the temperate spirit which was to govern the results. They had neither men nor money, and felt themselves compelled to choose between a French invasion, and an armed people; and they preferred the safer alternative. They could not, however, fail to be aware of the highly civilized character, and the loyal motives of the northern volunteers; and the rank, pretensions, and property of the body of gentlemen by whom they were officered, must have been felt to be a ground of security. This security, however, could only operate so far as respected the general peace and security of the country; for though the volunteers were adulterated by not even a mixture of the mere rabble which constitutes the force of rebellions, they were thus but more to be feared, as menacing danger to those unconstitutional abuses and mal-organizations to which the minds of such men as now led their country's defence, and were armed with her power, were most likely to look upon with hostility. To meet this formidable apprehension, the only resource would have been as quickly as possible to neutralize their national character by investing them with that of regular troops under the pay, discipline, and orders of the castle. But for such a purpose there was no money to be had, nor would it probably have availed. It was attempted to persuade the officers to take out regular commissions,—this being, as they suggested, the only ground of safety in the case of being taken prisoners. But the motive was

otherwise understood, and the refusal, perhaps, may be placed among the numerous indications that these gentlemen had from the first a full sense of their position of strength.

The enemy, on their part, saw the danger of encountering such a force—it was, doubtless, much exaggerated by report. It also convinced them of the inutility of relying on any aid to be derived from Irish disaffection,—the great motive of all the invasions ever directed to her coasts.

The further and more important events with the history of the volunteers demand a more extended and circumstantial narration. The prosperous operation of this great public movement may be referred to the character of its leaders, and to the general unanimity of the public mind as to the justice of its objects. And Mr Hardy has, we think, justly observed, that results so favourable could not have occurred if (as happened some years later) the principles of the French revolution had been instilled into the public mind. The justice of these reflections is, in truth, nearly self-evident. The effects of any dissension between the ranks and orders of the state, are directly and immediately subversive of society; and of this the dissolution of the ancient Roman commonwealth is an example on a large, and that of France, on a small scale. But the event of the time of which we now write was a wholly different result from wholly different means. The objects then contended for were, unanimously and earnestly, the desire of every individual of every rank and creed, not actually in the pay of government. They were plain, universal, and evident rights, concerning which there was no question in point of principle,—free trade and a free parliament. The leaders of the contest were the noblest in rank, the ablest in understanding, and the most justly respected for private worth and public integrity. They were followed by the better part of the Irish people, placed by circumstances on a vantage-ground of influence not under ordinary circumstances to be attained by the public. The public which cannot directly interfere in the legislature unless by some movement of an antisocial nature, was imbodied in this instance, by a concurrence of incidents, wholly untinged with revolutionary excitement, to give effect to the purest and noblest portion of its virtue and intelligence. "Lord Charlemont," writes Mr Hardy—"and the great and good men who acted with him, took care to confine the public mind to two great principles,—the defence of the empire, and the restoration of the constitution. In their steps to the latter, they were peculiarly cautious to limit the national claim to such a point only as Ireland herself could not decide upon,—this was a grant of free trade." In the same paragraph he observes the effect produced by the good conduct of the volunteers. "If the kingdom," he writes, "was menaced from abroad, it was at home in a state of unexampled security. Private property, private peace, were everywhere watched over by the volunteers with a filial and pious care." They could not, he observes, be styled "a banditti,"—the term applied by ministers to the American associations.

When the propositions in favour of Irish trade which lord North had this year introduced into the British parliament, after being assented to by that body, were suppressed in compliance with the jea-

lousy of several English manufacturing towns. There was (as we have already observed) a far greater hope communicated by the good intent thus manifested by the British government, than of discouragement from the narrow selfishness of the trading communities by which it was intercepted. But it was at the same time felt, that some public demonstration was necessary, both to counteract the effects, and expose the folly and injustice of such opposition. The non-importation agreement, formerly recommended by Swift, was now zealously and generally adopted. The effects were immediate and beneficial; the demands of luxury and fashion which had hitherto contributed to the trade of England, now were turned to renew our own; and a wide-spread despondency was changed into gratitude and hope.

The volunteers, in the mean time, rapidly increased in spirit, discipline, and numbers; and lord Charlemont, whose inspiriting influence was felt in every rightly directed effort of the public mind, devoted all his exertion to their improvement in these respects.

In October, 1779, the Irish parliament assembled. It opened with an incident amply illustrative of the foregoing statements. In the previous session, an amendment to the address, expressive of the sense of the public-spirited Opposition, had been in the usual manner negatived by the house. It nevertheless, according to Mr Hardy, "left a strong impression on the house," and we can have no doubt, had, in the meantime, operated as a rallying point to public feeling. Mr Daly, who had been the mover, and the illustrious band of eminent men, of whom he was one, now determined to try it once more. On the present occasion the ministerial address moved by Sir Robert Deane, and simply echoing the speech from the throne, was supported by Mr R. H. Hutchinson, Sir H. Cavendish, and the attorney-general: the amendment moved by Mr Grattan was supported by Mr Ogle, Sir Edward Newenham, the provost of Trinity College—the honourable Henry Flood, and the prime sergeant. Mr Grattan censured the speech as inexplicit—and as an attempt to quiet the public mind, without any express declaration—he then dwelt strongly on the distresses of the kingdom, which he described as "the beggary of the people, and the bankruptcy of the state." The first he attributed to commercial restrictions, the second to the boundless prodigality, and other crimes of administration. The amendment which he offered, injudiciously connected the object proposed with complaints very likely to excite division, but concluded by proposing "a free export trade," as the only remedy. Sir H. Cavendish replied by a dexterous proposal, that the object in view would be better effected, by appointing a committee for the purpose. Mr Ogle exposed the artifice of such a proposal, and pointedly reminded the commons of the old excuse of ministers, who were accustomed to plead the silence caused by their own artifices, "that truly they did not know what the Irish wanted, as their parliament was silent on the head." After some others had spoken with great strength, the leaders of the castle party saw the necessity of a change of direction: it seemed too obviously necessary to tack before the strong change of wind: a declaration was made from the administration benches, that they would not oppose the

amendment. As many of the leading members of the opposition objected to the terms of Mr Grattan's amendment, Mr Burgh now rose to move it in another equally decided, but less encumbered form. When he was about to move—Mr Flood whispered to him across the benches, "state a free trade only." Burgh had so intended, or he took the hint, and moved, "that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin."

This amendment was unanimously carried. When the house went up to present their address at the castle, the way between College-green and Dame Street, was lined with the volunteers, with the duke of Leinster at their head.

This decisive stroke, not more influential as a declaration, than for its effect upon the body from whence it came, and indeed on every constituent portion of the nation, was followed up with a vigour and decision hitherto unknown in the annals of Irish Oppositions. It was indeed a moment for the overflow of that national triumph, which followed and urged, as well as encouraged the whole course of these eventful proceedings. The presence of the national volunteers, imparted an influence, and propagated an impulse which diffused itself into every part of the kingdom and operated on every class; as yet animated only by the first loyal and constitutional sentiment which brought them together, and unaffected by that accumulating fever of self-confidence and self-assertion which is sure, sooner or later, to alter the direction and infatuate the progress of all such merely popular organizations, their presence had none but beneficial effects. They were, it is true, an unconstitutional force, but the whole state of things around them was also unconstitutional, and seemed to call for the presence of some power more quick and energetic than is afforded by the common system of civil order to give the sanatory impulse to its vital action. The forces of social order and progress, were feebly developed, conflicting among themselves and overpowered by the active proximity of British rule. The ruler and the ruled had not the reciprocal interest which commonly tempers and modifies their common relation:—it was the seeming interest of England to oppress the trade, and for this purpose to repress the strength of Ireland and the main instrument by which these objects were mainly effected, was internal division. It was essential for the dispersion of so fatal a union of forces, involving all the vital functions in a combination of disease, that some extra constitutional force should be applied, and such were the Irish volunteers. In the entire history of revolutions, there will not be found a case in which this force was so sanely and temperately used. Called up on a great and sudden emergency, with the sanction of government, and headed by the best talent and virtue in the Irish aristocracy, they were an extra legal but not lawless concentration of national strength with national intelligence and feeling: in availing themselves of the advantage of this position, they were rigidly within the limits of a sacred and imperative duty. Their demands went no further than the precise measure of this duty: and so far as the necessity of the occasion allowed, they gradually abstained from transgressing the lines of that constitution which it was their object to perfect

and repair, not infringe. The first demonstrations of such a power were universally felt. England saw the necessity of yielding that justice which her enlightened statesmen only awaited permission to yield. The factions which conceived their own sordid interests to be promoted by misgovernment were overawed and discouraged, while the more liberal and enlightened, who were animated by a true and enlightened patriotism, were inspired with confidence and hope. Thus, animated by a powerful combining sentiment, a clear intelligence and a tempered but resolute spirit, they imparted at the same time confidence to some, and control to others. Corresponding with this important indication of Irish sense and spirit, an improved sense of the true commercial interests of both countries and disposition to justice towards Ireland, had obtained no small growth among the higher classes in England: the British legislature, through all its branches, had already taken the lead in declaring the most free and liberal consent, and the only opposition which in fact existed, had its origin in certain local interests. This last-mentioned opposition too had been in some measure removed by the nonimportation agreement; and it only remained to be shown, that the claims of Ireland were become imperative, and that any further delays must end in consequences which no party or class could fail to deprecate. With the sense of justice, the perception of necessity became now clearly combined, and for an interval, the popular party acted under the inspiriting conviction, that the fortune of Ireland was in their hands.

Such was the immediate aspect of opinion and public feeling, at the moment when the Irish house of commons, having passed and presented their address, amid the peals of national enthusiasm, entered in a new spirit on a course of proceedings, dictated by the same impulse, and countenanced by the same array of national strength. They commenced by passing a unanimous vote of thanks to the volunteers; and, entering upon business, they manifested the consistency of their temper by passing the vote of supply for six months only. They immediately after passed a resolution of the utmost importance, stating the wants of the country in a distinct form. It was moved, and unanimously carried, that "the exportation from this country of its woollen and other manufactures to all foreign places, would materially tend to relieve its distresses, increase its wealth," &c. Another clause expressed their sense of the advantages to be derived from the American, West Indian, and African trades.

During the same session, the expedient of raising money by a lottery was for the first time used in Ireland. £200,000 were raised by 40,000 tickets, at £5 each, and the prizes were paid with debentures, bearing interest at 4 per cent. Another sum of £140,000 was raised by an issue of treasury bills, bearing interest £4: 11: 3*d.* per cent.

On the 13th December 1779, the claims of Ireland were once more advanced under more favourable auspices in the British house of commons. Lord North brought forward three propositions,—to allow Ireland the free export of wool, woollens, and wool flocks—a free export of glass and all glass manufactures—a free trade with all the British plantations, upon certain considerations, of which the basis was to be the equalization of customs, &c. In his speech, the noble

lord showed great ability and a thorough knowledge of the subject. He was supported by his opponents of the year before, and carried these important resolutions with the full consent of both sides of the house. Bills on the two first resolutions were brought in with rapidity, passed both houses, and received the royal consent before the holidays.

The third resolution involved more extensive considerations; and it was also felt desirable to ascertain, before further concession, in what spirit it would be received. Happily, the Irish parliament, as well as the people, took the measure with every expression of gratitude and satisfaction, and granted supplies for a year and a half. A sum of £610,000 was borrowed, to discharge the arrears upon the establishment, and an addition to the revenue was made, to the amount of £150,000 a-year.

The new-born spirit of independence was not long suffered to slumber in congratulation. When, shortly after, the mutiny bill, passed as usual for a limited time, was transmitted, it was made perpetual by the English privy council. This infringement of rights was soon and hotly debated in the Irish parliament; but this body was perhaps actuated by a sense that they had shown enough of spirit, and that much had been conceded; they now finally confirmed the altered bill. The compliance gave high and instantaneous offence to the public. Several of the boroughs at once remonstrated. The merchant corps of the volunteers held a meeting at the Royal Exchange, in which several highly spirited resolutions were passed. Of these we shall only distinguish one:—"Resolved, that we will concur with the volunteer corps of this kingdom, and the rest of our fellow-subjects, in every effort to avert the dangers we are threatened with." But on this, and numerous minor incidents, which during the next following year occupied the public, it will be unnecessary to enter in detail. It will be enough to state, that their general effect was to awaken, keep on the alert, and concentrate the public attention; so that a growing excitement, an increasing consciousness of power, and a sense that the occasion was critical for the assertion of national rights, pervaded every class at all susceptible of political impulse. The Irish volunteers continued to increase in spirit and strength; and while they thus increased, they also began more and more to assume the overt form of a political organ, and to appear less equivocal in their similarity to the ordinary developments of revolutionary movement. At length, in 1782, they assumed an attitude so imposing and formidable, that all obstacles of a political nature gave way before the menace of their power, and the party which was backed by their formidable influence gained a victory, which would have been more productive of unmixed advantage, if the victors had more fully appreciated their position, and seen where to stop. The event to which we allude was the meeting of the representatives of 143 corps of volunteers of Ulster, at Dungannon. They passed resolutions, which imbodied every question and every cause of complaint. They first asserted their own right to debate and publish their opinions, and then proceeded, in a series of spirited resolutions, to declare the exclusive right of legislation to be in the king, lords, and commons of Ireland. They declared against the powers assumed by the privy council of both kingdoms, under the pretence of Poyning's

law. They asserted the right of free trade in its fullest extent, condemned the perpetual mutiny bill, asserted the necessity of the independence of the judges. They declared their fixed resolution to seek the redress of the grievances thus stated, appointed a standing committee to represent, act for them, and call general meetings of the province. They strongly condemned the conduct of the court of Portugal, which refused admission to Irish goods, and pledged themselves not to consume any wine of the growth of that kingdom during the continuance of such an exclusion, and concluded by a declaration of their approbation of the recent acts in favour of the Church of Rome, in the following terms:—"That we hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves. Resolved, therefore, that as men and as Irishmen, as christians and as protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman catholic fellow-subjects," &c. They also moved an address of thanks to the minority in the two houses. The brevity of this address enables us to give it a place, which its nervous spirit and its importance merits:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"We thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts in defence of the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country. Go on; the almost unanimous voice of the people is with you; and in a free country the voice of the country must prevail. We know our duty to our sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights; and in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of Providence if we doubted of success."

The conduct of the Ulster volunteers met with universal applause, and their example was followed by all the other corps throughout Ireland. We shall only specify the lawyers' corps, which resolved, "that we do highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster volunteers, represented at Dungannon on the 15th February instant. That as citizens and volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps whose delegates met at Dungannon," &c.

The Dungannon committee immediately published a spirited address to the electors of Ulster. Among other strong expressions they said, "It is a time pregnant with circumstances which revolving ages may not so easily combine. The spirit of liberty is gone abroad; it is embraced by the people at large, and every day brings with it an accession of strength. The timid have laid aside their fears, and the virtuous sons of Ireland stand secure in their numbers." These sentences may be offered as descriptive of the sensation at that moment beginning to be universal in Ireland.

These demonstrations were followed by others as decided from other public bodies, of whom the sheriffs, freemen, and freeholders of Dublin may be mentioned. Still more remarkable for its forcible, yet tempered and constitutional expression of the general feeling, was the address from the university of Dublin to its representatives, Wal-

ter Burgh and John Fitzgibbon. To this we shall have to revert on a future occasion.

At last, the combination of favourable circumstances necessary for the great change which was to take place, was fully matured. Strong expediency; a determined and unanimous national feeling; leaders the ablest, as well as most influential, were added to a friendly administration. Mr Fox brought down a message to the English commons from the king, "that being concerned to find discontents and jealousies prevailing among his loyal subjects in Ireland, on matters of great weight and importance, he earnestly recommended to the house to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as might give satisfaction to both kingdoms." The sincerity of the intentions of the king and of the British government, was rendered now apparent by the straightforward and unequivocal manner of their proceeding. The same message was sent to the house of lords; and that the measure consequent thereupon should have the fullest concurrence of both kingdoms, a similar message was conveyed to the Irish parliament through the secretary, which office was then held by John Hely Hutchinson. The detail of the transactions of a legislative character which emanated from this proceeding, will more appropriately be entered upon in the life of Mr Grattan, to which we refer for the continuation of the political history of this immediate interval,—here simply confining our narration to such notices as may render intelligible the remainder of the history of the Irish volunteers and of lord Charlemont.

On the king's messsage, an address was moved by Mr Grattan, in the Irish house of commons, both expressing the gratitude of Ireland, and stating her principal grievances: and, in consequence, a repeal of the act 6th Geo. I. was moved on the same day in both houses in England. As to the mutiny bill, and on Poyning's law—the English parliament viewing them as concerns lying entirely between the king and the Irish parliament—simply carried a general resolution, purporting that a solid connexion should, by mutual consent, be established between the two countries; at the same time, a bill for securing the independence of the judges had been returned to the castle. For our present purpose of a mere summary, there is no more to be told. The Irish legislature was at once placed in a position of the most unqualified independence, and all was triumph and congratulation. The services of Mr Grattan, in bringing about this desirable consummation, were acknowledged by the secretary, and it was also on this occasion that a munificent reward for those services was voted by the Irish house of commons. A sum of £100,000 was voted toward raising 20,000 seamen for the fleet.

The volunteers of Ulster and Connaught published loyal addresses, which expressed or gave a tone to the public mind; and for the moment a common feeling of enthusiasm appeared universal. "The distinction between England and Ireland is no more; we are now one people; we have but one interest, one cause, one enemy, one friend, and we trust that the conduct of the Irish nation will demonstrate to all mankind, that the same spirit which grasps at liberty and spurns at usurpation, is equally alive to the impressions of friendship, of kindness, and of

generosity." Such was the language of the Irish volunteers, in this moment which seemed so auspicious for the fortunes, and so satisfactory to the pride of this country.

We now pass to the more exclusive history of lord Charlemont and his volunteers. It demands no elaborate exposition to render it clear to the common experience of the most ordinary observer of popular movement, how a body constituted of such elements, and having a bond of combination so charged with excitement, should, by no very slow degrees, change in its character and in the direction of its views; how the sense of influence and of strength, how the stimulus and love of power, and how, also, the extension of its originating motives and principles, with many other less obvious causes, would by degrees transgress the limits within which their application could be useful or safe. Such spontaneous organizations of national power and patriotism, called forth by public emergency, cannot, indeed, be too exclusively confined to the immediate occasion which has thus required them; for the virtue, discretion, and knowledge of the best class of men who are not professionally conversant with public affairs, is altogether unequal to any safe interference beyond the call of these rough expediencies. Of these reflections, the history of the volunteers offers no inaccurate illustration. Called together by a moment of obvious and imminent danger, the existence of the volunteers was happily coincident with a juncture of circumstances which gave them an incidental weight in hastening the progress of measures favourable to the freedom and commercial prosperity of Ireland. But having been thus so far fortunately efficient, they quickly became the centre in this country for the reception of many popular influences of a more questionable nature, which then profoundly worked in the heart of Europe, and more especially in France and England. The fervour of liberty was to gather intensity until it had reached the fever point; and we cannot but consider the subsequent conduct of the Irish volunteers as among the most remarkable indications of the early working of the same principle which afterwards showed itself in its more advanced stages in the French Revolution and in the Irish Rebellions. Happily for the time of our history, these dangerous elements were as yet far from the point of explosion; it must also be admitted that the volunteers were constituted of the very best elements of the Irish population, and governed by the purest and noblest of the classes above them.

At the same period involved in our present narrative, there was in England a strong public excitement upon the question of parliamentary reform. In Ireland it found a ready reflection in the ranks of the volunteers. Here, indeed, the demand for such a reform was far more evident, as will be readily admitted from the statements in the foregoing part of this memoir. Here the cry for reform had already been more than once raised by a few eminent members of the opposition, and the advantages so recently obtained, now gave increased ardour to the political zeal of the volunteers and the opposition members in the Irish house of commons. "The voice of England," observes Mr Hardy, "in favour of reform was re-echoed here, not by the people, but by the volunteers; issuing indeed from the people, but still a military body, numerous and formidable."

Thus gradually heated by a strong zeal, the volunteers exalted their sense of their own character, and enlarged their requisitions. They began to arrogate to themselves the deliberative functions of a parliament, and the right of dictation to the national legislature. In the spring of 1783, they began to hold meetings, in which strong resolutions in favour of reform were passed; and in July, a committee of delegates met in Belfast, and sent letters to lord Charlemont, as well as to the duke of Richmond, Mr Pitt, and other members of the British administration. In that which lord Charlemont received, the following passage announced the extent of their views:—"We have yet another favour to request, viz., that your lordship would inform us whether shortening the duration of parliaments, exclusion of pensions, limiting the number of placemen, and a tax on absentees, or any of them, be, in your lordship's opinion, subjects in which the volunteers of Ireland ought to interfere; and we earnestly request that your lordship may favour us with a sketch of such resolutions as your lordship would think proper to be proposed at Dungannon."

This letter was received by lord Charlemont with some sensations of uneasiness. He fully approved the political sentiments which it expressed, but strongly deprecated the spirit of interference which it not less plainly manifested. He wrote a manly and temperate answer, in which, having expressed his concurrence with their view of measures generally, he reminded them that these questions were already in competent hands, and advised them to confine their addresses simply to the general desire for parliamentary reform.

The moderation of his lordship was unhappily confined to himself. On the 8th September, 1783, 500 delegates, representing 248 volunteer corps of Ulster volunteers, assembled in Dungannon. They passed thirteen resolutions, of which the substance was generally such as every one will at once truly conjecture; the last alone will be enough to quote:—"That a committee of five persons from each county be now chosen by ballot, to represent this province in a grand national convention, to be held at noon, in the Royal Exchange, Dublin, on the 10th day of November next, to which we trust each of the other provinces will send delegates, to digest and publish a plan of parliamentary reform, to pursue such measures as may appear to them likely to render it effectual, to adjourn from time to time, and convene provincial meetings if found necessary." This remarkable resolution was accompanied by directions to their delegates as to the expediency and means of obtaining specific information upon the state of the boroughs, and a recommendation to the Irish representatives to refuse their consent to bills of supply, for any term beyond six months, till a full redress of all grievances should have been obtained. They also published an address to the "volunteer armies of the provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught." The language of this address was highly calculated to alarm every thinking and observing person; for it was specious and inflammatory, and spoke precisely the language which has always proceeded from revolutionary conventions, under whatever name they have met. One clause will be for the present enough:—"From a grand national convention, distinguished by integrity, and inspired with the courageous spirit of the constitution, every

blessing must result. With one voice, then, the voice of united millions, let Ireland assert her claim to freedom." In this address they also state their object to be the maturing of an "extensive plan of reform," to be "produced as the solemn act of the volunteer army of Ireland."

The plan thus proposed at Dungannon was at once adopted by the other provincial corps. On the 10th of November they met in Dublin, and elected the earl of Charlemont for their chairman. For the particulars of its meeting we shall quote Mr Hardy:—"The convention met in Dublin, at the Royal Exchange, when, as preparatory to everything else, they chose lord Charlemont their president. The same reason," says his lordship, "which had induced me to accept the nomination from Armagh, and to persuade many moderate friends of mine, much against their wishes, to suffer themselves to be delegated, namely, that there should be in the assembly a strength of prudent men, sufficient, by withstanding or preventing violence, to secure moderate measures, induced me now to accept the troublesome and dangerous office of president, which was unanimously voted to me. Another reason also concurred to prevent my refusal. The bishop of Derry had, I knew, done all in his power to be elected to that office, and I feared that, if I should refuse, the choice might fall on him, which would, indeed, have been fatal to the public repose." The delegates being very numerous, the place of meeting was altered from the Exchange, the rooms of which were too small, to the Rotunda, in Rutland Square. Lord Charlemont, as president, led the way, accompanied by a squadron of horse; then followed the delegates, who walked two and two, and formed a procession altogether as novel as imposing. . . . . When the convention proceeded to business, it was soon found that his moderation and good sense, aided by the most respectable in that convention, would too often prove altogether inefficient. Though Mr Brownlow, a wise man, carrying with him that authority which wisdom and integrity, supported by large possessions, will generally command, was chairman of the committee into which the convention resolved itself—though other gentlemen, the most respectable, formed the sub-committee, whose business it was to receive plans of reform—the violent, untutored, and unprincipled, sometimes prevailed, and carried resolutions totally contrary to the wishes of the president or chairman."

"A singular scene was soon displayed, and yet such a scene as any one who considered the almost unvarying disposition of an assembly of that nature, and the particular object for which it was convened, might justly have expected. From every quarter, and from every speculatist—great clerks or no clerks at all—was poured out in such a multiplicity of plans of reform, some of them ingenious, some which bespoke an exercised and rational mind, but in general, as I have been well assured, so utterly impracticable, "so rugged and wild in their attire," they looked not like "the offspring of inhabitants of the earth, and yet were on it;" that language would sink in pourtraying this motley band of incongruous fancies—of misshapen theories—valuable only if inefficient, or execrable if efficacious. All this daily issued from presumptuous empirics, or the vainly busy minds of some political

philanthropists, whom the good-breeding alone of their countrymen permitted to be regarded as not totally out of their senses. The committee showed a perseverance almost marvellous, but the musky conceits and solemn vanities of such pretenders would have put even the patience of the man of Uz to flight. At last, after being for several days bewildered in this palpable obscure of politics, and more and more theories flitting round the heads of the unfortunate, that which must for ever take place on such occasions, took place here. A dictator was appointed, not indeed in name, but in substance."

The convention went vigorously to work in the execution of their assumed duties, and having speedily digested a scheme of parliamentary reform, Mr H. Flood was requested to introduce in the house of commons a bill in accordance with the views they had adopted.

On the 29th November, 1783, Mr Flood moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament. He was replied to by the attorney-general, who, among other objections, urged its origin from an armed body, as inconsistent with the freedom of the house. "We sit not here," he said, "to register the edicts of another assembly, or to receive propositions at the point of the bayonet;" and after some expressions of praise due to their former merits, he added, "but when they turn aside from this honourable conduct—when they form themselves into a debating society, and with that rude instrument, the bayonet, probe and explore a constitution which requires the nicest hand to touch, I own my respect and veneration for them is destroyed. If it will be avowed that this bill originated with them, I will reject it at once, because I consider that it decides the question, whether this house or the convention are the representatives of the people, and whether this house or the volunteers are to be obeyed." Mr Flood defended his motion and the volunteers with great power, but with a speciousness somewhat too apparent, and after several able speeches from Sir H. Languishe, Mr Ponsonby, and Mr Fitzgibbon, who had all opposed the motion on the same ground, it was rejected by a large majority. The delegates had, on their part, omitted no expedient which might be presumed to lend weight and influence to their orator. They crowded into the galleries and passages in their uniforms, and listened in stern impatience to this discussion. The house expressed its sense of this method of interference in a strong resolution.

In the mean time, the convention continued to sit. Lord Charlemont, after two hours, receiving no intelligence from the house, and justly surmising what had occurred, prevailed on them to adjourn till Monday. On Monday, soon after they had come together, a delegate arose to harangue against the proceedings of the house of commons; but lord Charlemont had foreseen this, and fully appreciated the danger of a new impulse which might have the effect of hurrying them forward in the course of indiscretion to which they seemed but too well inclined. He accordingly interposed, and prevailed upon them to adopt the parliamentary rule, that nothing said in one house should be noticed in another. His most anxious and continual vigilance was nevertheless barely sufficient for the prevention of that collision which he feared. So great was the tendency to gather heat and impulse,

displayed in this assembly, which had manifestly survived its nobler functions, and was rapidly degenerating into the blind and precipitate organ of revolutionary movement. Under such circumstances, the moderation, sagacity, and firmness, of lord Charlemont are seen to eminent advantage. Numerous letters and addresses from the different volunteer corps appealed to his patriotism, and besieged his resolution. Having won golden opinions as the leader of those movements from which most signal advantages had resulted, he had next to resist and repress the passions and the zeal, not according to wisdom, which had derived ardour and impulse from success. The difficulty was increased by the encouragement which the volunteers received from Mr Flood, their lieutenant-colonel, whose vast rhetorical talents gave him a stormy sway over the minds of a body of men already fired into more than the ordinary heat of factions.

Many circumstances had, nevertheless, for some time previous to the incidents here related, been tending to bring about their dissolution. Like all popular bodies, they sustained the ordinary effects of tumultuary action. They first overshot the principle of their organization; next, brought forth division, raised resistance, and became subject to individual dictation. The government followed their motions with a vigilant eye, and took advantage of each unwary step; the institution of the fencible regiments thinned their ranks, and deprived them largely of their officers; the moderation of one part divided them from the violence of others; and when, by the tumultuary proceeding just related, they came into collision with the house of commons, they had ceased to be formidable as an army, and were reduced to a factious party, which the better part of their own leaders lent a hand to repress.

After much violent feeling had been shown, the temper and discretion of lord Charlemont at length prevailed in bringing back the meeting to their original object, and after some motions in favour of reform, and a short address in vindication of themselves and the motives of their conduct, they consented to an adjournment *sine die*. Some further reflections of a more general nature will find a more appropriate place in a future page, when we shall have to take up the thread of our historical statement, and to connect the occurrences here noticed with subsequent events. We shall now briefly revert to some incidents in which the personal history of lord Charlemont is more immediately involved.

During the progress of these political events, in which he had exercised a more efficient and beneficial influence than any other individual, lord Charlemont occupied a central position in the aspect of all the main parties. He had the unusual good fortune, at the same time, to head the great movement of his countrymen, so far as it continued safe or wise, and to command the esteem of the British government. Having, till 1773, always kept a house in London, and enjoyed the best society which its rank, fashion, and literature afforded, he then, at the call of duty, and with no motive of self-interest, abandoned this most grateful and congenial advantage, to watch over the birth and early growth of his country's national existence. With a high spirit of the purest patriotism, he held back from all the honours and advantages of which his station and national importance drew continued offers from the

Irish administration; so that, indeed, he often found it a delicate and embarrassing duty to refuse those favours which other statesmen have been most anxious to obtain by all the resources of solicitation. From the turbulent and precipitate character of those impulses which it was his task to govern, he had often to sustain the difficult part of supporting the expedient measures of the government on one hand, while, on the other, he was compelled to offer uncompromising resistance. In both of these conflicting duties, he never lost sight of his own dignity and honour, or weakly bent to either popular dictation or to influence in high places. He was tender and sensitive, and often felt in secret the painful embarrassment of his position: but in his public conduct and language he showed at all times a noble and commanding front, serene, unswerving, and unshaken; nor have we in his whole conduct been able to detect a shadow of those qualities of ambition, private motive, or any of those sentiments terminating in self, which are so often the concealed subtexture of political virtue.

On the nomination of earl Temple, in 1782, to the Irish government, he received from that nobleman a kind letter to conciliate his support. Earl Temple well merited the approbation and support of a man like lord Charlemont. His administration was graced by the institution of the knights of St Patrick; and in accepting the riband of that order, lord Charlemont was felt to pay, as well as receive, a compliment. Earl Temple carried stern and unsparing reform into every branch of the executive department, and on his departure, in the following year, he was escorted by the Irish volunteers, who lined the streets through which he passed to the sea-side.

With the earl of Northington who succeeded, lord Charlemont was on the same good terms, was cultivated as assiduously, and was enabled to be of the most efficient use in the conduct of many difficult affairs; insomuch, that lord Northington was impressed with a sense of the disadvantage of his not occupying a seat in the privy council. Having taken the steps essential for such a purpose, he wrote a flattering letter to lord Charlemont, who, in reply, made his consent conditional on the same offer being made to his faithful friend, Henry Grattan. The suggestion was at once complied with.

We have next to mention an incident of lord Charlemont's life, which must, at the time of its occurrence, have been more peculiarly an unmixed gratification to his characteristic tastes, and should now be commemorated as an honour and a distinction more noble and permanent than can ever be found in the transient vicissitudes of political revolution. In 1786, he was elected president of the Royal Irish Academy, an institution which—next to, or rather concurrently with, the university of Dublin—has done more to raise the character of Ireland and Irishmen among the more civilized nations of Europe, than all other causes, of whatever kind. We cannot consent to give our account of this highly distinguished institution in the close of a memoir; it is complicated with too many illustrious recollections, and too many truly glorious results. We shall therefore find a more appropriate place, in which these details may be less interrupted, and less an interruption. The Royal Irish Academy was, like many other institutions of the same kind, the fruit of repeated, and till then, unsuccessful

effort on the part of eminent literary and scientific men, to establish some centre for communication and concert, in which the various branches of human inquiry might impart mutual light, and by comparison and juxtaposition, be seen in their relative positions to the whole, or to each other—a thought expressed in the preface to the first volume of the Transactions, and amply verified in the comprehensive and harmonious range of modern science. We shall only here add, that it was the child of the university, of which its earliest working members were the most distinguished fellows, and from which it has ever since derived its principal constituency; so that it may, indeed, be not unaptly compared to the main outlet from which the streams of academic research are communicated to the world—a relation equally honourable to both. The first sitting of the academy appears from its Transactions to have taken place in 1785, and its first published essay was "An account of the Observatory belonging to Trinity College, Dublin, by the Rev. Henry Usher, senior fellow." The preface to the volume was from the pen of another eminent member of the university, the Rev. Robert Burrowes. The Rev. Matthew Young also communicated some curious and important papers on the quadrature of simple curves, and on the extraction of cubic and other roots. These, with other very able and interesting papers on most branches of human inquiry, filled the first volume, which was published in 1787.

Lord Charlemont did not view the position of president to the academy as a mere honorary distinction, but appeared mostly in his place, and actively co-operated in the objects of the institution. In the first session, he read an essay to prove, from the works of Fazio Delli Uberti, an ancient Florentine writer, the antiquity of the Irish woollen manufacture. He also, in 1789, read an essay on a custom in Lesbos, where the eldest daughter holds, in regard to inheritance, the ordinary rights of primogeniture.

The numerous political occurrences which took place during the remainder of lord Charlemont's life, may, for the present, be passed over, with slight exceptions. He was beginning to feel the approaches of old age; and a constitution never robust, was every year more affected by infirmities, which diminished his activity, and, except on extraordinary occasions, circumscribed his intercourse with the world. His home, nevertheless, continued to be the frequent resort of literature and politics; so that, to the very last, he was enabled to enter efficiently into the best interests of the country.

The volunteers, to the latest moment of their existence, continued to be chief objects of his parental care. Owing to the several causes to which we have already taken due care to call the reader's attention, they had continued slowly to decline from their numerical strength and national importance. While they continued to be objects of secret suspicion and dislike to the government, they had quickly reached that point of transition in which their character became more than questionable to every sober wellwisher to Ireland. Had they been unhappily placed under a less cautious and firm guidance than that of lord Charlemont, it is sufficiently apparent to what they tended. From a patriotic array in defence of Ireland, they had assumed a political existence; and thus transformed, were obviously passing through that well-known

series of changes which end in the manifestation of a power and a will inconsistent with any event but revolution. They had also attained a point in this advance, at which it became as unsafe to attempt to put them down, as to permit their continued existence.

Lord Charlemont made it still his chief care to watch over their diminished and diminishing ranks, until they ceased to have even a nominal existence. In Mr Hardy's ample memoir, we find numerous interesting notices of his lordship's visits to the north, to review his corps; and there is considerable interest in the occasional instances in which the military rank of his lordship, and military character and merits of the volunteers, are recognised by the officers and soldiers of the line. Their casual meetings were attended by the formal exchange of the usual forms observed on such occasions in the army; and upon one occasion, when his lordship passed through Nenagh, on his way to Limerick, there happened to be no volunteers in the town, and a party of the 18th light dragoons, quartered there, insisted on mounting guard at his door during the evening, and next morning escorted him on his way, as far as he would permit. This incident, however, occurred at an early period of the history of the volunteers, while it was judged by the government yet expedient to mask in courteous flattery the fear and suspicion which from first to last this anomalous force was adapted to inspire. At the time which we have now reached, their palmy day had passed—their own indiscretions, and the dexterity of the government, had slowly but surely stripped them of the stamp of constitutional recognition, which had a substantial effect in altering and subduing the revolutionary temper which it could not wholly suppress: there was thus infused, amid all their democratic ardour, a saving sense of a connexion with the government; and the same convention had as useful an influence on the public mind, as well as on the army, into the ranks of which their best materials were presently absorbed. A clinging sentiment of their past importance still held together a feeble and unimposing band, which had ceased to be formidable, and were permitted to exist, because the mandate of suppression might have easily awakened a spirit not yet altogether extinct. Lord Charlemont is represented as still devoting his time and care to this remnant, both for the reasons here stated, and also to prevent their falling into dangerous hands. The decline of the Irish volunteers, thus left to the influence of circumstances, was slow, and the body preserved a languishing existence long after it had ceased to be an instrument of change. In 1790, we find lord Charlemont still engaged in his military duty of reviewing his corps at Armagh. At that time, when other dangerous elements were fast spreading in the social atmosphere, which would have made such a force tenfold more dangerous, it had happily lost its political existence and form, and was receiving from its old commander these attentions which might be described as the last pious offices before its departure. Reflecting on the common feelings of mankind, it will be no impeachment of his lordship's wisdom to surmise that other natural sentiments must have warmed his breast while witnessing the degeneracy of a body of which the power, the splendour, and services, had been the prominent means of his own national exaltation.

Notwithstanding his strong sense of the real dangers attending their transient ascendancy, and the honourable efforts and vigilance by which he had mainly helped to turn away those dangers, it was not in nature that he should not keenly feel the contempt into which they were beginning to fall, and resent the secret and dexterous hostility which had followed them throughout. We cannot help the conviction, that while his lordship still journeyed to perform the once animating office of inspecting and reviewing their dwindled ranks, that he was more or less affected by that deep-seated tenacity of the pride and glory of a better day, which we hold to be inseparable from the heart. With whatever private sentiments he was impressed in his visits to the north, and in the review of the last remains of the volunteer army of Ireland, there can be no doubt of the justness of his opinions on the subject, or of the perfect good sense and true patriotism with which he conducted, to its last moment, a movement which, in its period of strength, he had mainly conduced to govern to the safest and most beneficial results. Such movements have been seldom so directed; and we dwell on the fact, because we consider it his lordship's claim to the grateful recollection of his country.

At this time, his lordship had attained his sixty-second year, and had suffered considerably from infirmities and complaints contracted by a delicate frame, during a life of great activity. He still continued to take a lively interest in the whole conduct of political concerns, and to be actively engaged in most of the main party conflicts, for many years subsequent to those of which the principal incidents have been here related. On the regency question, in 1788, he acted as the leader of the opposition, of which the chief members met at his house, 3d February, 1789, before the opening of the Irish session. He also moved the address to the prince of Wales, requesting him to take upon himself the regency of Ireland. About the same time, his lordship exerted himself with great zeal and activity in the formation of a whig club. This celebrated body may be considered as a revival of the monks of St Patrick, and was similarly composed of gentlemen who were zealous in opposition, and were, or professed to be, zealous for the rights and liberties of Ireland. At the frequent discussions in the house of commons, lord Charlemont was a constant listener, and from his persevering attendance, it was usual to remark that he was more a member of the commons than of the lords. His friends in the commons were at the time in their highest period of strength, effect, and eloquence; and the gratification which he enjoyed from the frequent display of successful wit, eloquence, and reason, not often to be equalled within the walls of a legislative assembly, must, in some degree, have compensated for the painful sensations of regret and mortification which he was doomed to witness, and the fast increasing folly and absurdity of the popular factions which were at the same time disgracing and hazarding the cause for which he was a champion, by rash, extreme, and false pretensions. In a letter to his friend Haliday, some strong expressions escape, which we may cite as indicating the mood of many a subsequent year:—"My nerves, the constant source of all my complaints, are much affected; and, consequently, neither my eyes nor my spirits are as they ought to be. The horrid weather, which

I take to be unparalleled, may possibly contribute to produce these effects on me; but what alleviation in the weather can produce any good effects on those wretches in the county of Armagh? Few things have ever given me so much concern and anxiety as these nasty broils. The fools will undo themselves, and I cannot help it." The most true and wisest patriot that Ireland has ever known, was doomed, in the decline of his days, to see more serious changes for the worse come over the spirit of independence which he had so materially contributed to awaken and to conduct to prosperous results. We shall not prolong this memoir by entering into the details of public proceedings and changes, in which his lordship was but one among many, but shall take up our narrative in other subsequent memoirs, in which we shall be enabled to offer detailed statements of transactions here adverted to in a summary way.

In 1761, it was thought proper by the Irish administration to show their resentment of his lordship's public conduct by an unworthy insult. With this view, for it is hard to imagine any other, they divided the lieutenancy of the county of Armagh into two separate governments. The government of this county had been for more than a century in his lordship's family. The manner of this injury was more injurious than the act, as it was done without the decorum of a notice, and the first intimation to his lordship was from a gentleman who had seen the new appointment in the Gazette. On learning the circumstance, lord Charlemont at once took the spirited course which is described by himself to his friend Haliday:—"Clear in my own mind of the propriety of what I was about to do, and conscious that though the exhibition of family pride be of all other things the most ridiculous, yet that there are occasions when it is criminal not to assert one's own dignity, I immediately wrote to the secretary, signifying to him, that having been informed by the Gazette, &c., I requested of him to give in to the lord-lieutenant my resignation." We add some sentences of an address which he received on the same occasion from Armagh:—"Your lordship was the sole governor of our county in times rather more perilous than the present—in times, shall we say, when the kingdom had no government, or none but that received from the strength, spirit, and wisdom of the people, so often, and with such zealous integrity, informed, advised, and led by your lordship."*

In 1793, lord Charlemont had to lament the loss of his second son, a promising youth, in his seventeenth year. Many other losses of a similar nature, were, at the same time, beginning to thicken round his declining progress, and to mark the silent approach of the last scene of the eventful drama in which he had been a most distinguished actor.

His latest days were cheered by repeated and honourable marks of the esteem and honour of his country. Among these might be dwelt on the enthusiasm occasioned by his departure for Bath, when the illness of his countess, and his own delicacy, rendered this journey necessary.

But, as his most prevailing sentiment was the love of his country, so no honours could compensate for, and no private afflictions out-

* This was the address of 1378 freeholders.

weigh, the pain of beholding the then advanced symptoms of national confusion, which, spreading from the French capital as a centre, were growing like an eclipse over all the surrounding shores. The latter days of his own volunteers had been infected by the earliest taint of the revolution; and when, disgraced by the open adoption of its principles and titles, they were finally put down with the consent of their best friends, they had already handed down the fatal taint which was before long to break out in less equivocal forms, and to do more mischief to Ireland than their noblest achievements had done good.

These dark and gloomy details demand a fresh canvass, and must be pursued in future memoirs.

Our last extract from his correspondence will sufficiently serve to trace here the declining period of lord Charlemont. "Short indeed must this note be; for I am ill able to write, and though from having swallowed the bark of a Peruvian forest, the malady is now a good deal mitigated, still I am so depressed, that neither my head nor my eyes will obey, and second my wish of a long conversation with you. Bodily disease, and bodily pain, must always affect the mind, and more especially a mind already sore, from various causes, but particularly from an incessant and painful contemplation of the melancholy and alarming state to which is now reduced that country, which has been ever so dear to my heart; and that too, not only from the wretched mismanagement of others, but in a great measure from her own fault. To you I need not say how ardently I have ever loved my country. In consequence of that love, I have courted her; I have even married her, and taken her for life; and she is now turned out a shrew—tormenting herself, and all her nearest connexions. But no more of this, for indeed I can write no more."

The sufferings of lord Charlemont were alleviated still by the cultivation of polite literature, and by the varied gratifications belonging to the cultivation of the fine arts. On these topics, his letters display to the last a keen interest and a discriminating judgment. Nor should we omit to observe that the peculiar refinement of a cultivated and informed taste is perceptibly accompanied and set off to great advantage by the uniform tone of the most refined and warm affections. Indeed, the truth of his patriotism (a virtue mostly questionable,) is in him attested by the uniform and thorough consistency of his entire conduct and sentiments in all things. Had he never taken part in public affairs—such a man must have been by nature a patriot: for he was a good and true man in all his human and social affections.

It is not our intention to enter here on the gloomy interval of affairs which overclouded his latter years. Even in the latest stages of an infirm old age, he shook off the impeding languor which would have tied most men to their beds, to hurry to his post in the serious alarms of '96.

The discussions upon the question of the Union found him at his post, fervent in mind, though already suffering in the latest stages of bodily decline. With many of the best and ablest Irishmen of his day, he took part against that great measure. The protracted agitation of spirit and nerve thus kept up during a struggle of the most

exciting nature, completed the disruption of his constitution. His appetite departed—his limbs swelled, and it was sorrowfully admitted by his friends and family that his death could not be far off. He expired in his 70th year, on the 4th August, 1799. The following epitaph written by himself was found among his papers:—

MY OWN EPITAPH.

Here lies the body of
JAMES, EARL OF CHARLEMONT,
A sincere, zealous, and active friend,
To his country.
Let posterity imitate him in that alone,
and forget
His manifold errors.

His lordship was advanced to the earldom in 1763, without solicitation, and, as a well deserved tribute of the public services rendered by his activity, spirit and prudence, in the troubles of that time. In 1768 he married Miss Hickman.

Among the numerous distinguished men of his day, attempts have been made to assign his lordship's relative position. The rare and eminent combination of high and useful qualities which we have already described, was, with the advantages of station and property, such as to place him in a central position among the great men who are to be numbered of his party. The position is generally allowed, but we incline to think that the merits to which it was felt to belong, are underrated by his lordship's admirers. That his talents were not of the comprehensive and powerful order of some of his gifted contemporaries cannot be disputed; but there is a want of judgment shown in the insufficient estimate of the just discernment and pervading sagacity, which all his letters and recorded acts plainly indicate from first to last. His opinions did not receive the development of pamphlet or speech—nor was he by circumstances led to any of those elaborate displays of political talent which have their origin more in ambition than patriotism. Single in his motives, at the same time shrinking from such displays, his lordship was too happy to find and put in motion the talents of others. But if it be recollected with what wholeness he devoted his mind to the politics of his day, it is too much to assume that he did not maintain in these the same qualities which are in other things plainly seen to be the features of his mind. As for the admission of Mr Hardy, that his lordship was no statesman—we should be much inclined to make a similar admission for nearly the whole of the distinguished circle of public men who were engaged in the same cause.

Henry Flood.

BORN A.D. 1732.—DIED A.D. 1791.

THE family of Flood has been traced into Kent, whence the ancestors of Mr Flood, the immediate subject of notice in this memoir, came into Ireland, early in the sixteenth century. The ancestor from whom the

Irish branch is lineally traced, was Sir Thomas Flood, who bore several offices of honour and trust in England, under Henry VIII., and Elizabeth. His lineal descendant, Major Francis Flood, came to Ireland with his regiment, and bore an active part in the wars in both kingdoms, during the great rebellion. This gentleman married a Miss Warden, the heiress of a considerable estate in the county of Kilkenny. From this marriage, three families descended—settled respectively in Farmley, Floodhall, and Paulstown.

Of Major Flood's sons, the eldest, who was named Warden, from his mother's family name, was chief-justice of the king's bench, and father to Henry, of whom we are more particularly to speak. Henry Flood was born in 1732. By the death of his brother and sister he became an only child. It may be fairly presumed, that his early education was attended to with a care proportioned to his expectation, as the sole inheritor of large estates; though we must here add that his biographers advert to some informalities attending the union of his parents, such as on a subsequent occasion to lead to a verdict of illegitimacy.

He entered college when he had completed his sixteenth year. The conspicuous station held by his father placed him in the whirl of gaiety and dissipation, and he was at once diverted from the studies which led at that time to academic distinction. It was probably to move him from the attraction of influences which could not fail, in many important respects, to be detrimental at his tender age, that, three years after, his father removed him to Oxford, where he was placed under the care of Dr Markham, afterwards archbishop of York. Under the active personal influence of this worthy man and excellent scholar, he began to apply himself with diligence: much also was attributed to an influence often felt by those who, with the ambition and power of strong abilities, may happen to have neglected those acquirements which are always soon found to be essential to their successful use: the occasional opportunities of entering into the society of men of profound and extensive knowledge, and of listening to discussions in which something more than mere natural dexterity and untrained activity of intellect was wanting to enable him to bear part, effectually excited him to industrious and persevering study.

After two years' residence in Oxford, he graduated. His classical proficiency and his natural powers of language were in the same interval indicated by his poetic compositions, and by highly successful translations from the great masterpieces of Greek and Roman orators.

Having left Oxford, Mr Flood entered his name in the Temple, and some years were passed in assiduous devotion to legal studies. After which, having altogether spent seven years in England, he returned to stand for the county of Kilkenny during the administration of the duke of Bedford. He was elected, took his seat, and judiciously abstained from engaging prematurely in the debates. He justly felt that a full acquaintance with the usages of the house, and some practical acquaintance with the common details of parliamentary business, would be essential to the most favourable display of his abilities. The dissolution of parliament soon followed, and he was re-elected for the

same county. On this occasion, among other friends, we find lord Charlemont actively engaged in endeavours to secure his return.

Mr Flood was first called up in the house, in 1761, by a motion of Mr William Gerard Hamilton, that the Portuguese, then at war with Spain, might be permitted to raise in Ireland six regiments of the Romish persuasion. The speech of Hamilton has been described as one of unequalled effect; among those who replied, Mr Flood was the most applauded: he spoke from the Opposition benches, and attacked the whole administration of the government with so much severity, as to call forth lively demonstrations of popular approbation and ministerial resentment.

In the same year he married lady Francis Maria Beresford, with whom he obtained a large fortune, and a high connexion. His father, chief-justice Flood, settled his estates upon him on the occasion, and a bequest from his uncle put him in actual possession of a considerable independence.

Under these circumstances, his mind seems to have undergone a transient change from the more ambitious desires of public life, to the tastes for rural and agricultural occupations. He retired with his wife to Farmley, where he cultivated his muse and his turnips, and formed an interesting centre for much of the talent and literature of the day. Among the many well-known names which frequently occur in the record of this period of his life, that of Henry Grattan, and Sir Hercules Langrishe, are to be distinguished. The marriage of Mr Grattan's sister to Mr Bushe of Kilfane, made him a frequent visitor in that part of the county of Kilkenny. Between him and Mr Flood, a close intimacy soon commenced: they entered together into the study of politics and oratory, in both of which, Mr Flood had already made the proficiency of an adept. They wrote and communicated their compositions to each other; they argued and often contended together in formal harangue. Private theatricals, which had long been fashionable in the most distinguished circles of society in Ireland, were introduced at Knocktopher, Kilfane, and Farmley; and the principal parts acted by persons whose names were soon to find the most conspicuous places in the history of their time. These theatricals form so very marked a feature of social life in that period, that we shall further on endeavour to trace them in their line and progress. Upon one of these occasions, Mr Flood acted Macbeth to Mr Grattan's Macduff.

On the new election which took place after the passing of the octennial bill, Mr Flood had an unhappy quarrel with Mr Agar, his colleague in the representation of Callan. It terminated according to the barbarous custom of the day, in a hostile meeting at Holyhead, in which Agar was slightly wounded. Agar who was the challenger, was vexed at having missed Mr Flood, and soon after challenged him to a second meeting. The following letter was written by an eye-witness of this fatal duel, and contains the fullest, as well as most authoritative statement we can offer:—

Mr Bushe to Mr Grattan.

September, 1769.

My dear Harry,—I must postpone everything to inform you, that on Friday last, a duel was fought between Harry Flood and Mr Agar,

the elder, in Dunmore Park, near Kilkenny, in which Mr Agar was unfortunately killed. As Mr Flood was not the challenger, and as it was out of his power to avoid it, he has nothing to reproach himself with. The cause was a case of pistols belonging to Mr Agar, which one Keogh lost at Burn church, in the riot about ten months ago. I hear that the unfortunate gentleman had often asked Mr Flood about them, who always "said he had them not, and was not accountable for them." But on Friday, they produced a challenge, to my great surprise; for if there were any offence, it was as much an offence any day these ten months as it was on that day. They stood at about fourteen yards asunder. Before they fired, Mr Agar questioned Mr Flood about the pistols in a threatening and offensive manner. Mr Flood answered very deliberately, "You know I will not answer you while you ask me in that manner." Mr G. Bushe, who was Mr Flood's friend, said something to Mr Agar to induce him to ask in another manner, and not to bring such an affair upon himself so needlessly,—but without effect. He laid down one pistol, and rested the other on his arm to take aim. Both Mr G. B., and Mr Roth, his own friend, called to him to fire fairly.—N.B., besides the unfairness of using a rest, it was particularly unfair at that time; for Mr A. had proposed they should stand alongside a quickset hedge, but Mr Roth declared *there should be no levelling*. Upon their calling out, he desisted, and took another posture, and fired first, and missed. He then took up his other pistol, and then said to Mr Flood, "Fire, fire you scoundrel!" Mr Flood thereupon presented his pistol, which he held all this time with the muzzle turned upwards, and shot Mr A. through the heart. Mr A.'s left breast was towards him, Mr A. being left-handed. He expired in a few minutes afterwards, without speaking anything articulate.*

On this unfortunate event it was necessary that Mr Flood should stand his trial before he could appear in public, and the delay by which this object was retarded has been attributed by some to the desire of the lord-lieutenant to keep him out of the way during some discussion in which his talents were feared. It was the object of Mr Flood to be tried by a special commission, instead of waiting for the spring assizes; and this is the fair history of the delay. But it would be inconsistent with our duty to omit here to notice distinctly, that this transaction is an instance of the exceeding laxity which then prevailed in the administration of justice in Ireland. The special commission which Mr Flood and his friends were so desirous to secure, was not precisely what is ordinarily understood by the term. And the reader who is made aware of the difficulties which were at first thrown in the way of such an arrangement, may not be aware that the object sought was a deviation from the regular course of justice, such as could not now be named without scandal to the high judicial integrity of modern times. It was no less than an arrangement to pack the bench, for the acquittal of a species of homicide licensed by public opinion in those barbarous days. A few extracts will sufficiently explain this. The first letter on the subject is one from lord Charle-

* Life of H. Grattan, by his son.

mont, in reply to one from Mr Flood; the following sentence will explain Mr Flood's request,—"I spoke [to the chancellor] of your letters as very sensible and ingenious, but think that you a little mistook Blackstone. The writ *de malo* relates to a commission of gaol delivery, but that which you desire is a commission of *oyer* and *terminer*." Through the whole of October this point was urged with indefatigable zeal, and the difficulties which interposed might illustrate the irregular nature of the proposal; but this point is fully ascertained by lord Charlemont's incidental repetition of the chancellor's words. Having begged of the chancellor to apply to the lord-lieutenant, he goes on to repeat,—"I certainly will, and everything in my power shall be done; in the mean time, I would have you to know of Mr Flood whether he has any objection to the judges Henn and Smith, who, as the youngest judges, will probably be appointed. For if he has, I shall take care that others shall be sent in their place." It is difficult to assume that the lord chancellor was ignorant of the infamous nature of the proceeding which is plainly enough intimated in this extract. But it is also evident that there occurred some seasonable interposition to prevent such a disgrace of the judicial office: whether the obstacle arose from the privy council, or, what is far more likely, from the judges themselves, this wretched treaty was interrupted when it appeared to have been settled to the satisfaction of all parties. A letter from lord Charlemont announced that the chancellor had not succeeded in discovering any precedent for the species of commission required, and that matters were quite at a stand. The event was, that Mr Flood was tried and acquitted at the regular spring assizes in Kilkenny.

At this period of his life, it is generally agreed that Mr Flood held the very first place as a public speaker. Our means of arriving at any very precise estimate of his style, are few and imperfect; the reports of the public debates were then but casual, and confined simply to the line of argument pursued by the speaker, with a few occasional expressions of more peculiar force. It was a time when the art of rhetorical eloquence had been recently introduced into this country, and was beginning to be cultivated in the Irish house by a few eminent speakers. Among these, Flood rapidly obtained the palm of unrivalled superiority, and it may readily be concluded that he was forcible, perspicuous, and argumentative. His command of language, as well as of the varied turns of style, and forms of rhetoric, seems, from the few specimens which are preserved, to have been copious and ready. An extract from a sketch attributed to Sir H. Langrishe, praises him in these terms:—"Indeed, upon whatever subject this champion of our liberty speaks, he does so with such knowledge, accuracy and perspicuity, that one would imagine *that* subject had been the particular and chief object of his inquiry. Does he make calculations?—what mathematician more exact. Does he plead his country's cause?—what breast does not glow with patriotism; he seems nearly to approach that great original Demosthenes—whom he so well understands. He has all his fine brevity and perspicuity."*

* Cited in the Life of Flood, by W. Flood, Esq., 1838.

These praises, though rather too obviously partaking more of the warmth of the zealous friend than of critical discrimination, may perhaps be taken as an approximate description of the general merits of Mr Flood, and of the place which he held in the estimation of contemporary taste.

The latter end of lord Townshend's administration was harassed by numerous literary attacks, which may perhaps, without much inaccuracy be regarded as the precursors of a more serious and effective dispaly of opposition to the existing state of things. Among these may be distinguished a collection of satirical pieces, published under the name of "Barateriana," of which the fundamental notion was taken from Don Quixote, and in which the lord-lieutenant was represented in the character of Sancho. This was the joint production of Langrishe, Grattan, and Mr Flood. Among these there are many letters which have been ascertained on the clearest evidence to have been the composition of Mr Flood: they are distinguished by their copious command of topics, and by the prompt ingenuity with which every topic is made available for the purpose of the writer. They do no discredit to the character of Mr Flood as an argumentative orator. But with these allowances, some criticism of a different character must be mixed: while these letters by their general ability, do high credit to their author, they clearly prove that Mr Flood was not, as some of his admirers have fancied, the author of the letters of Junius. A comparison between the two styles is facilitated and justified by the plain and undisguised imitation of Junius, which pervades the letters known to have come from the hand of Mr Flood; and as well marked an inferiority in the use of the same weapons and in the same way, as strongly leads to the conclusion that Mr Flood was not Junius. As we do not believe that such a notion now exists in any quarter, it is not necessary to notice it further. Indeed to any one who has attentively read the history of Mr Flood and his times, and the letters of Junius, it is scarcely necessary to observe, that there is in the latter a scope of sentiments and habitual associations, widely separated both in general character and particular detail, from the whole known habits and intercourse of Mr Flood. But we must not here pursue the subject.

In 1773, Mr Flood paid a visit to England, where he received the attentions due to his character and distinguished qualifications. On this occasion, it is said to have been principally his object to impress lord North with opinions favourable to the commerce of Ireland, and also upon the subject of a tax on absentees.

In 1775, when lord Harcourt held the office of chief governor in the Irish administration, Mr Flood was pressed to accept the vice-treasurership, one of the highest and most profitable offices under the crown in Ireland. To this, after some demur and considerable negotiation, he yielded his consent. The step was, as might be expected at the time, objected to among his political connexions, and afterwards severely stigmatized by his political adversaries. It would be vain to hope that conduct, which can, without any strain upon the ordinary and well-known principles of human action, be ascribed to the influence of either of two very opposite classes of motives, can now, with much certainty, be assigned to either. The case, as it may be stated, against Mr Flood, will be found in the strongest form in Mr

Grattan's celebrated invective, to which, brief as it is, little can be added or subtracted to make a strong *prima facie* case of party dereliction. On the other side, it must, in fairness, be confessed that, in Mr Flood's defence of himself on a subsequent night, the charges of Mr Grattan receive favourable and not improbable explanations. After fairly considering both, it will be confessed that the statements on either part come, in point of plain and tangible fact, nearly to the same, and that the true question remains as to the balance of the probability in favour of the patriotic or the corrupt motives. Every point of Mr Grattan's statement may be answered by the solution of a patriotic, honourable, and expedient motive; and every point of Mr Flood's by a probable imputation. It was unquestionable that Mr Flood accepted of a lucrative office at a time when he and the party to which he was understood to belong were essentially an opposition; but it is obvious enough that there was room to conclude that, in so doing, he was stepping into the very position in which—to all appearance, and, considering the then state of affairs—he might find the readiest means to serve his country. If, however, the fact be urged that, during the period in which he held office, his conduct as a member of the house was remarkably altered, that he became silent on most questions, and observably evaded others; the answer is ready,—that this was an essential condition of the part he had taken. His opposition to the government in the house could be at that time of small avail; while his influence in the privy council was of much to prevent or modify such measures as were thought inadmissible by the friends of Ireland. It is, after all allowances, consistent with our theory of human nature, to observe that both classes of motive very usually exist in the mind,—in which elevated and low sentiments deeply co-exist and curiously combine; and it rarely occurs that there is a course of conduct for which mean motives cannot be found or good motives pleaded. Upon the whole, therefore, when such questions arise, we think the general tenor of the life and conduct of the individual may be thrown into the scale. And if, on looking at the result, the conduct has led to actual good, it would be but fair to allow that such good may have been foreseen and intended by the actor. With this view we shall here conclude that, in the acceptance of a lucrative office, Mr Flood satisfied himself that he might thereby serve his country effectually, and that his conduct in office was not inconsistent with such a view. The charge of having voted with government on mere questions of party would be frivolous; on many great questions opposition would, under circumstances, be unavailing as well as inexpedient, which on several occasions, in which something was to be effected by influence and firmness, it must be admitted that Mr Flood came forward as the adviser or even the opponent of the cabinet, and rendered important services, some of which we shall presently notice. For a more detailed view, we must refer the curious reader to the statements made by Mr Grattan and Mr Flood, as the fullest and clearest we have been enabled to obtain.*

In the same year, lord Harcourt's government was farther strength-

* Mr Grattan's will be found at full length in the memoir published by his son. Mr Flood's defence may be read at length in his life by Warden Flood, Esq.

ened by the acquisition of two other important allies; Mr Hussey Burgh, who was raised to the office of prime sergeant, and Mr Hutchinson, who obtained the still higher, though somewhat inappropriate, honour of being appointed provost. These appointments, together with that of Mr Flood, were censured by the earl of Charlemont. Of this, so far as regards Mr Flood, there is sufficient proof in the published letters of this nobleman to him. Mr Hardy has, however, rashly affirmed that an entire cessation of intercourse between these distinguished persons was the immediate consequence. This is plainly disproved by the subsequent correspondence which has been published, and which unequivocally manifests the unbroken continuation of the most affectionate and cordial intercourse. The brother of lord Charlemont was, in this year, lost in the passage from England to Dublin, and the borough which he represented, being in the possession of the earl, would have, but for the incidents here noticed, been offered to the acceptance of Mr Flood. Under the circumstances, it is needless to explain that this act of friendship had become incompatible with the public opinions and station of the noble earl. He expressed clearly, but kindly, his opinion as to the objectionable character of the step which Mr Flood was about to take, in thus—though with the most honourable motives—committing himself to the stream of influences, so charged with imputation and seduction, and significantly quoted a passage from Virgil:—

> ——— Facilis descensus Averni;
> Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis;
> Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
> Hoc opus, hic labor est.

In his acceptance of the vice-treasurership, one of the motives assigned by Mr Flood was the desire to render this office accessible to Irishmen, as it had been till then exclusively filled by Englishmen. He also made some stipulations in favour of Ireland. In the council he lent his aid to obtain a limited mutiny bill—the rejection of altered money bills, and the important concession that privy council bills should not be defended by the crown.

Mr Flood held office during the administrations of lords Harcourt and Buckingham. In 1780, in the end nearly of the latter, he resigned on the declared ground that the line of policy contemplated by him was not that which the government had adopted. When the parliament met he stood forward, without hesitation, in the character of an opposition orator, and was complimented by Mr Ponsonby, "who rejoiced to see the right honourable gentleman, after an eclipse of seven years, burst forth in such a blaze of eloquence." On this expression, Mr Flood observed,—"The honourable gentleman has said that I am emerged from a seven years' eclipse. It is true I supported lord Harcourt's administration; but was I eclipsed, when, on several occasions, I went not with them, and stated my reasons for doing so? I also supported lord Buckingham. On that eventful day when a free trade was demanded, was I eclipsed? When a bill of rights was the subject of debate, did I shrink from the question?"

We have already noticed at some length, and shall again be compelled to enter more largely into the discussions on the repeal of 6

George I., and the other accompanying acts of concession, which gave independence to the Irish legislature. We have also noticed the address on that occasion proposed by Mr Grattan, expressive of the consent and acceptance which the measure received from the Irish house of commons. To this address Mr Flood proposed an objection, which led to a warm and interesting debate. The offer of the British government went no farther than a simple repeal of the obnoxious statute; Mr Flood contended for a declaratory act expressly renouncing the right of binding Ireland by the English parliament. And in truth, reasoning directly upon the facts, it seems not easy to evade the force of Mr Flood's objection: for the evil had arisen from mere usurpation; nor could there be any security in the mere silence of statute law against the recurrence of similar usurpations, unless in the positive barrier raised by an express declaration of the British legislature. The changes of some years might materially change the relative advantages of the two countries; and, up to that time, there had not been any indication in the conduct of the British legislature, from which it could with certainty be inferred that the consideration of justice to the commercial or legislative rights or interests of Ireland would operate as a restraint when occasion should again chance to favour such usurpations. On the other hand, the general spirit of the age had been widely changed; the common sentiments of the British nation had been enlarged and enlightened, and Ireland had also made many important steps in moral and commercial advance. There could be little chance of any act founded on the conditions of a darker state of things ever again recurring. The mere existence of such evils could not be referred to as a ground of such apprehensions for the future, because every one can at once understand how different is the temper which operates to maintain a present established evil from that which would originate the same. Thus contemplated, such an apprehension seemed to imply, that, after the emancipation of her commerce and legislature, Ireland was to stand still. But while we fully admit that the practical expediency of an express declaration was not very considerable, we must yet insist on the wisdom of Mr Flood's proposal. The declaration which he required was assuredly the proper completion of the measure proposed: and as it could really add nothing to the actual concession, unless on the supposition of a fraudulent intent, —there could be nothing of the nature of unreasonable exaction in a demand that conceded nothing, and sacrificed nothing. Some arguments of no slight cogency for Mr Flood's view, were drawn from the known circumstances of the discussion which had occurred in the British legislature, in which great reluctance had been shown by several eminent statesmen to concede the principle of right. The contest was maintained with great ability on both sides; and Mr Flood, though foiled at first, eventually carried his point.

This eventual success of Mr Flood was promoted by circumstances. A few weeks after the repeal of the act 6 George I., Ireland was named in a British act, which laid some restraint on the cotton trade. It was also favoured by a decision by lord Mansfield on an Irish writ of error, which brought into prominent notice the appellant jurisdiction of the British house of peers in Ireland. The case

decided by lord Mansfield, had, it is true, been lodged before the repeal of the statute 6 George I. But, in giving his reason in support of his decision, his lordship asserted the right on more general grounds. He alleged "that he knew of no law depriving the British court of its vested jurisdiction." Lord Mansfield's anxiety to maintain that jurisdiction was accounted for by the assertion that he had large investments in Irish mortgages, by which means one per cent. additional was obtained for his money.* Soon after, an act was passed in the British parliament, regulating the importation of sugars from St Domingo to all the king's dominions in Europe: as such an act had a constructive application to Ireland, it had the effect of raising a commotion in this country. The excitement caused by these several incidents was increased, and a strong sense of insufficient security confirmed by lord Abingdon's motion in the English house of lords, in which he distinctly stated the opinion that the king and parliament of England had no right to renounce the jurisdiction of England over Ireland.

These excitements were of themselves sufficient to make the British government aware that something further was to be done; and, in the following session, they brought in an express act of renunciation, 23 George III., "for removing and preventing all doubts which have arisen, or might arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature," &c., &c. Of this act the whole language was clear and unequivocal, and imbodied all the objected points with the utmost fulness.

The contest of opinion, which broke the harmony of the popular party, was, nevertheless, far from being ended. Mr Flood's argument had, in fact, been acted upon; while Mr Grattan, and those who thought with him, continued to retain their first opinion in favour of the sufficiency of a simple repeal of the previous act 6 George I. In fact, the opposition which, sustained by the external pressure of the volunteers, and backed by a liberal administration in England, had effected for Ireland such constitutional victories, now began to lose strength by the important ordinary operation of human passions. It cannot be overlooked that the changes of administration which had restored some eminent men to the ranks of the Irish opposition, had thus also infused a principle of division. Nor can we conceal our conviction of the effects now resulting from the jealousy which almost of necessity existed between Mr Flood and Mr Grattan, and diffused itself widely among their adherents. The protracted discussions upon the above measure had not only the effect of deeply imbittering against each other the minds of these two eminent men, who were thus directly placed in a state of competition for public favour, but it also infused a vague distrust through the country as to the sincerity of England. With this a still more operative excitement arose; the majority in the Irish Parliament had decided for the sufficiency of a measure, which the subsequent act of the British legislature had admitted to be unsatisfactory. Here, in the moment of apparent triumph, was full material for civil commotion, suspicion, and discontent. The

* Barrington.

volunteers were again roused into action, and the opinion that the Irish parliament did not represent the people, became the prominent matter of complaint.

With the volunteers Mr Flood now obtained the highest popularity; and when, very shortly after, the memorable quarrel between him and Mr Grattan occurred, he was addressed by them on that occasion, to express their sense of his services, and to censure the uncalled-for and unmerited severity of Mr Grattan's attack. We shall not here enter into the further details of this period of Mr Flood's life. They have in part been briefly noticed already, and shall be farther stated in our memoir of Mr Grattan. Of the quarrel here adverted to it is necessary to offer an outline.

The brief administration of lord Temple was succeeded by that of lord Northington, in 1783, who was appointed with the celebrated coalition ministry in the same year. A new parliament met in Ireland on the 14th October. In this the Irish had shown their gratitude by the exclusion of both their great leaders, and Mr Flood and Mr Grattan were each compelled to have recourse to boroughs for their seats. About a fortnight after the meeting of parliament, Sir H. Cavendish moved that the state of the kingdom required every practicable retrenchment. Mr Flood, as had been his wont, entered into some very severe comments on the government, and proposed, as an amendment, that the "country demanded retrenchment." He was replied to by Mr Grattan, whose comments were tinged with some severity. A mutual jealousy had been long growing up between these eminent men, and both were prepared to seize on any occasion for the discharge of their animosity. During the previous year the materials of bitter recrimination had been collecting in their minds; and their personal hostility was kept alive, and armed by a wide difference of political principle. Of these motives we shall be in a better condition to speak when engaged in the memoir of Mr Grattan, because we shall then enter into many details, which we here omit. For the same reason, we defer the full narration of the incidents of this memorable debate. Mr Grattan, as we have stated, replied in a tone of sarcasm;—Mr Flood claimed his right to reply to a personal charge, and, in defending himself, retorted with a degree of acrimonious point and with imputations so very personal and galling, that he probably felt, as the last sentence of his reply expresses, a triumphant sense of having crushed his antagonist.—"I have now done. Give me leave to say, if the gentleman enters often into this sort of colloquy with me, he will not have much to boast of at the end of the session." Mr Flood's invective—for such it was—was indeed highly creditable to his oratorical reputation, and contained passages, which, had they even been the result of elaborate preparation, would still deserve the praise of highly finished composition. We shall offer but an example:—"A man of warm imagination and brilliant fancy will sometimes be dazzled with his own ideas, and may for a moment fall into error; but a man of sound head could not make so egregious a mistake, and a man of an honest heart could not persist in it after it was discovered." Among other innuendoes of the most cutting severity was one which could not fail to provoke, and, indeed, demanded the utmost power of retort. The

reply of Mr Grattan remains yet unparalleled among the reports of parliamentary encounter, for its condensed and compendious severity. Mr Flood was for the moment completely bewildered by its overpowering effect; a fact which is perfectly apparent in the few sentences of incoherent reply which have been preserved. The two gentlemen, after having for two hours been allowed to discharge their whole indignation upon each other by a house of commons, which entered with all the keen interest of a cockpit into this display of rival force, were, from something of the same spirit, suffered, after it was over, to steal away for the purpose of following up their quarrel in the way most usual at the period. After a little time had passed in the confusion which immediately followed, orders were given for the arrest of the parties. Mr Flood was taken, but made his escape from the sheriffs.

A challenge from Mr Flood ensued; but, after some days spent in negotiation, they were both served with a warrant from the king's bench, and bound over to keep the peace towards each other for two years. A few days after, Mr Flood was allowed by the house to enter into a formal vindication of his character, in which he displayed very considerable eloquence and talent. The quarrel just related had the effect of putting an end to the acquaintance of these two eminent orators. The kindliness of Mr Flood's temper has been exemplified by the courtesy with which, upon a subsequent occasion, he saluted Mr Grattan when they chanced to pass each other in the streets; this advance was, however, so coldly received, that he took care not to repeat it. He also presided at some meetings at which resolutions complimentary to Mr Grattan passed.

We should next have to relate the incidents of the convention of delegates, in which Mr Flood bore a distinguished part, had we not already given as much space to the subject as can well be afforded in this volume.* In this, as in the incident previously mentioned, there is among those respectable writers who have noticed these passages of his life a very remarkable difference of opinion. We should not hesitate to sum their arguments, direct or inferential, and endeavour to cast the balance between their opinions for or against Mr Flood, but that, in truth, we consider them, as reasoning, to be quite inconclusive. We have already shown that the peculiar course of conduct pursued for a considerable number of years by Mr Flood, can be within the ordinary analogies of human nature, referred to either of two very opposite classes of motives. His deportment in this latter instance carries with it the same ambiguity. It must depend on the general estimate of his character, otherwise formed, to which class his conduct is to be referred. The public professions of men, and the compliments of partisans or friends, go for nothing in such an estimate. There is scarcely on record a course of action in which the invidious or the biassed cannot find strong grounds for imputation; or which the agent himself cannot set forth in lofty colours.

With respect to Mr Flood's motion for parliamentary reform, it may be said for Mr Flood that such reform was wanting; while the pernicious nature of the unconstitutional resource by which it was, on

* Life of Charlemont.

this occasion, sought to be obtained, was not equally apparent. The ultimate tendency of the principles which were then in their first development, was only made known by the experience of subsequent events; nor was it sufficiently self-evident, for most intelligences, that popular interference has a narrow limit to its powers for good. It may doubtless have appeared to Mr Flood that the state of Ireland was still such as to warrant the application of an irregular force: like a far greater man (Mr Fox) he was more a theorist in political science, than a profound observer of those laws, according to which the movements of men and nations must ever be governed: his reasoning was that of a lawyer and a casuist, and built on the dogmas, maxims, and statutes, but not studied precedents of jurists and political writers: he belonged, with some favourable allowance, to that most eloquent class of public men who will argue on an abstract case, while the facts are momently bursting from the grasp of application. From such an estimate some deduction may, it is true, be made, and some further apology for Mr Flood may be found in the consideration that he had hitherto lived and acted in the chaos and confusion of a state, in which the government and the opposition were unregulated, and in which the only prospect of a better order of things was in the application of that strong external force from which so much had been attained: and he may have felt justified in endeavouring to obtain it by the use of the same means which had already been found successful to such an extent. This view may be enough for the justification of his conduct on the occasion—so far as such a justification ought now to be sought. Should any one consider it wholly unnecessary, we must answer, that, on an attentive consideration of the state of things then sufficiently noticeable, there must arise a strong impression that Mr Flood's conduct on the occasion stated, was actuated by no regard to any consideration beyond the impulse of certain strong personal feelings. If he was not goaded by sentiments of jealous rivalry and disappointed ambition, he was more or less than man—he had seen his vast popularity ebb, and the unrivalled championship, the thunder of the senate, pass into the hands of a junior,—a rival, and a reputed enemy. On the other hand, he had been ill-treated by the government. Such a position was laden with the elements of desperation. The force of which he put himself at the head, was the same that had prostrated and paralyzed the forces of the Castle, and floated his rival into wealth, influence, and fame. Such motives may have been beneath his pride, and unworthy of his understanding; but, while we frankly admit the possible uprightness of his motive, we must observe, as honestly, that we cannot pay the same compliment to his understanding. It was not a time for the further pressure of parliamentary reform in this country; no merely constitutional reform would here have answered any purpose, save as an argument for some further step; but a reform carried at the point of the bayonet could only have the effect of undoing all that had already been effected. The house of commons, which should have adopted any resolution under the circumstances already described, would have wanted something more than reform. The error in principle does not admit of discussion; it is too obvious; but, in point of policy, there was, in our opinion, an error not so much on

the surface at that time, though plain enough to those who look back along the course of after events. It is a consideration on which we have already entered at some length. The social state and the political constitution of this kingdom were advancing with unequal steps. The leading statesmen of the popular party took up their notions and principles from English books, the British constitution, and the debates in the British parliament: when they harangued on the affairs of Ireland they were unconsciously thinking of England. They who now read their speeches have no very precise notion of the state of things to which they were intended to apply. A great step in advance had been made,—when the independence of the judges, the free trade, and the independence of parliament had been secured. For the sound working of these measures, something more was wanting. It is a mistake into which statesmen are but too liable to fall—the idea that a system of enactments can amount to national prosperity—whereas, on the other hand, every measure in its application is wholly modified by circumstances on which legislation has no power. No freedom or no laws could have secured prosperity or good government to Ireland, or happiness and respectability to the people, until they had first made some advances wholly dependent on peace. We have already taken some pains to show the necessary progress of wealth, prosperity, and civil order, when subject to no interference from popular movements. When once fairly ingrafted, civilization with its consequences depend on quiet, and the workings of law depend on civilization. The tyranny of one stage of civilization drops away link by link, according to a law not in the will of cabinets and councils, but in the hand of nature: laws become obsolete by an insensible course, and opinion works out institutions and enlightened laws by a process nearly as insensible. These effects cannot be, or never were the work of popular will,—an instrument useful in desperate emergencies, but in these alone; useful to vindicate freedom, but not to fit people to be free. In Ireland, the principal want was an interval of quiet; the utmost had been done that national excitement could at the time effect: and the balance of force was visibly shifted. Wise men would have applied their whole strength to secure, to give a rooted existence and a sane working to the new elements of constitutional strength. To promote trade—to improve the condition of the peasantry—to remove the prejudices which operated against the country, and to quiet the turbulence which seemed to justify those prejudices, in a word, to look into the actual state of the Irish people, who were the least cared for, and least consulted for in a struggle for the sake of which they were excited into a state of exasperation, fatal to their own best interests. The spirit of the people had received already some fierce impulses, which a sagacious politician would desire to check; and the public mind was already commencing that most fatal course, which was to receive no effectual check, until it obtained a permanent form, and became the parent of all our subsequent calamities. The impression was then just beginning to be communicated of an unreclaimable hostility to order and law—a temper which would find cause of complaint in any change of circumstances, and which could only be civilized by an iron domination; and which by the impression of national fickleness and faithlessness

planation. Some observations we cannot avoid: on comparing the report of Mr Flood's speech on this occasion, with those of his most important speeches in the Irish parliament, we cannot discover in the latter any very decided marks of superiority either in style or substance: and we are very much inclined to think that the disappointment attending his *debut* in the British House, is, in part at least, to be attributed to the effects of comparison and a fallacious estimate. Mr Flood's very high ratiocinative powers had a value in the Irish house, increased by the circumstance that they were there a distinction. In England, where men were accustomed to listen to Burke, Pitt, and Fox, orators who in their different styles had carried political eloquence to its highest perfection, and who combined the powers which Mr Flood possessed with others to which he had comparatively little pretension; such an auditory were likely at first to be disappointed at the best probable fulfilment of expectations, in which the ordinary exaggerations of rumour had no small part. It has been justly observed, that his declaring himself independent of both sides of the house, was likely to raise a prepossession against him in both parties. The report given of his speech in Hansard's debates, nevertheless displays much precaution and tact, and great care to communicate to the house a full impression of the difficulties under which he rose. For such statements there is, (it is well known,) no great allowance; they are a recognised part of the rhetorician's art; yet it must be allowed that however prepared, he was placed under some disadvantages. Upon the whole, the effort is considered by his admirers to have been incautious and premature, and was regarded as a failure by himself. In addition to these remarks, we shall extract a passage from Wraxall's Memoirs, which contains a brief, and we think fair account of the whole incident:—"Mr Henry Flood, one of the most celebrated orators in the Irish parliament, (who had just been brought in for Winchester,) rising for the first time, proposed to speak in the British house of commons. His appearance produced an instant calm, and he was heard with universal curiosity while he delivered his sentiments, which were strongly inimical to the East India bill. Though possessing little local or accurate information on the immediate subject of the debate, he spoke with great ability and good sense; but the slow, measured, and sententious style of enunciation which characterized his eloquence—however calculated to excite admiration it might be in the sister kingdom—appeared to English ears cold, stiff, and deficient in some of the best recommendations to attention. Unfortunately, too, for Flood, one of his own countrymen, Mr Courtney, instantly opened on him such a battery of ridicule and wit, seasoned with allusions or reflections of the most personal and painful kind, which seemed to overwhelm the new member." Respecting this incident, Mr Moore has recorded the following statement from Lord Byron:—"When I met old Courtney, the orator, at Roger's, the poet's, in 1811–12, I was much taken with the portly remains of his fine figure, and the still acute quickness of his conversation. It was *he* who silenced Flood in the English house, by a crushing reply to the hasty *debut* of the rival of Grattan in Ireland.

"I asked Courtney—for I like to trace motives—if he had not some personal provocation, for the acrimony of his answer seemed to involve it? Courtney said, *he had.* That when in Ireland, (being an Irishman,) at the bar of the Irish house of commons, Flood had made a personal and unfair attack on himself, who, not being a member of that house, could not defend himself; and that some years afterwards, the opportunity of retort offering in the English parliament, he could not resist it."*

A dissolution of parliament speedily followed, and the consequence to Mr Flood was a vexatious controversy with the duke of Chandos, who refused to put him in nomination a second time. Of this refusal the grounds are indistinctly and partially stated in a tedious correspondence between the parties concerned and their friends, which occupy thirty quarto pages of Mr Flood's correspondence. To a first apprehension of the case, it would seem that the duke involved both himself and Mr Flood in inextricable embarrassments, by want of proper candour and firmness, in announcing his change of purpose, with the real motives, in their first conception. It would appear that he was offended by Mr Flood's declarations of perfect independence, but was reluctant to say so, and took shelter in subterfuges dependent on recollected conversations and implied understandings. Mr Flood retorted similar arguments; and both have, we think, preserved the appearance of speciousness, by stating the question upon the grounds severally most advantageous to the stater. The duke urges that he could not have intended to nominate Mr Flood to a "perpetuity" in his borough; that Mr Flood had stated his wishes to be confined to the present parliament; and that he had even engaged to vacate his seat, should any cause of dissatisfaction arise. But to such arguments it could be answered, that these were but considerations purely incidental, and never reduced into specific pledges; while there were certain very obvious and simple understandings, founded on the general sense entertained in all dealings between men of honour, on which Mr Flood had a right to count. The duke had made use of occasional expressions, such as to impress on Mr Flood that it was his design to support him in the next election; and such support appeared a condition so evidently involved in the entire of the transaction referred to its objects, that no cause of change could clearly exempt the duke from the obligation of giving a seasonable notice. But in addition to this consideration, it was asserted by Mr Flood, and admitted by the duke, that he had actually authorized Mr Flood to take certain steps relative to a second election.† The fairest view of the question is, after all, that contained in the following statement, taken from one of Mr Flood's letters to the duke:—"The duke expressed his intention, as well after Christmas as before, that Mr Flood should come in for Winchester this parliament . . . . Mr Flood is free to say that intentions repeatedly declared in serious matters, and between serious men, embarking persons of a certain description in concerns of depth

* We are indebted for these extracts on this point, to the industry of Mr Warden Flood, who has brought them together in his memoir of H. Flood.

† This statement will be found in the correspondence.

and moment, affecting their whole situation, held on to the last moment, and till opportunities are lost that cannot be retrieved;—he is free to say, that in his mind, and, as he conceives, in that of all mankind, such circumstances do constitute a serious ground of obligation to all the feelings of honour." It would be refining, to an extent beyond the importance of the subject, to lay down the precise limits, and to point out the accurate application of so general a position. The truth seems to be, that the duke did not himself conceive the objection on which he afterwards acted, until it was suggested by his attorney, and by some of the electors. When this communication had occurred, it was late to repair the effect of any change of intention by a notice, for which the seasonable moment had passed—while it was considered by the duke too much to be expected that he should hazard his interest, or lower his political importance, by persisting in favour of Mr Flood. In his correspondence, he is necessarily compelled to touch this fact lightly, and with the utmost caution, reminding Mr Flood that there is a consideration which is too delicate for explicit discussion. It might, under the whole circumstances, be not unreasonably expected by the duke, that Mr Flood would see that he was placed in a position of some embarrassment, and, as is to be presumed in such cases, take this embarrassment into account.

The correspondence on this occasion was continued for some weeks; intermediate parties were called in, but seemed to shrink from the uncompromising violence of Mr Flood, who evidently aimed to bring the question to the decision of arms—the savage resort of the time. This result was averted by the quiet obstinacy of the duke, who held his ground in the dispute without even recognising the angry tone and the insinuated hostility of his adversary. We shall only add to these general statements, that on viewing the whole question, and the entire correspondence of both parties concerned, we are not quite satisfied that either appears in the most favourable light. On the duke's part, there is much of that shuffling which arises from weakness of character; on that of Mr Flood, inordinate self-assertion, and a temper inconsiderate of others.

In 1784, Mr Flood received an invitation from some voters of the borough of Seaford; and Mr Peter Burrowes, then a student in the Temple, was employed to act as his representative on the occasion. After two defeats, arising from illegal conduct of adverse parties, which in each case caused the returns to be vacated, Mr Flood was elected.

Concerning the remainder of his career we must endeavour to be very brief. On several subsequent occasions he sustained his parliamentary reputation, by displays of high oratorical power, not unworthy of his best days in the Irish house of commons. He was thus become a member of the parliament in both kingdoms, and was not remiss in either.

He continued to engage actively, though unsuccessfully, in the question of parliamentary reform in his own country. In the year 1785, the commercial regulations were introduced by Mr Secretary Orde. Against these Mr Flood took a very leading and prominent part, to which we shall revert and endeavour to do justice, when engaged in the details of this portion of our history. On the pro-

posal for a commercial treaty with France, in 1787, his efforts in the British parliament deserve, and have received, much high and well-merited praise.

In 1790, he attempted to introduce a scheme of reform in the English house of commons; but the times were altered, and it was evident that the question at that moment stood on different and peculiar grounds. The infidel and disorganizing tendency of the principles then diffused, with the usual energy of fanaticism, throughout the kingdom, had awakened a salutary fear in the public mind. Mr Flood had lived too long in the contemplation of tempestuous and irregular political workings to be easily alarmed, or to be very keenly alive to the first vibrations of the wave of change, then in its beginning. His views had been framed in and for Ireland; and his habits of thinking mainly adjusted to the peculiar condition of this country. It was also pre-eminently a part of his temper to adhere to his own views. On a mind like his, broad and deep, but rooted like the oak to which he was compared, it is no reproach to say that the powerful, and seemingly unanswerable expositions of Mr Burke, which changed the current of that critical time and saved England, had no influence upon him. But in this he stands with Fox, and many other men of equal and superior powers; nor can he be fairly depreciated for the want of that higher and more comprehensive state-philosophy, which so many able men were bereft of, and which but one possessed. It is, indeed, one of the curious and interesting phenomena of history, to observe how little knowledge of the actual laws of human change—of the working of great social processes—and, in a word, of the moral forces in operation on human events, there is to be discovered in the government of councils, or in the opinions of the most eminent politicians. The power of arguing points—the comprehensive command and array of facts—the rapid perception of present realities and immediate consequences—and the ready penetration into the actuating motives of the opponent or the ally: these will be mostly observed in various degrees to enter into the combination of qualities which constitute the statesman. They are easily apprehended by the criticism of the vulgar, being but more powerful and efficient developments of the common sense of the multitude. Hence the general error of judgment as to what is called consistency;—the apprehension of the crowd will cleave to names and conventions when (looking to the actual constitution of things) their sense has virtually changed. And hence, also, in a still higher degree, the risk he runs of being misunderstood, who looks at human events through the medium of principles, and consequently perceives and points out results which a more remote period yet hides from the narrowness of ordinary vision.

Looking exclusively to the rudiments of constitutional theory, as expounded by lawyers, casuists, and historical writers, it is easy to maintain the question in favour of parliamentary reform—a desideratum of all times, while the world endures—and the man whose learning goes no further than these conditions, must always, and under all circumstances, preserve one rigid line; he will maintain the cause of reform in the midst of universal confusion; he will purify by fire when the conflagration is breaking out. But it was no time to talk

about reform in England,* when the foul progeny of revolution was swarming into every hamlet through the land. We must not, however, be tempted to digress upon a topic which will call for our more extensive consideration hereafter, when we must repeat and expand the foregoing reflections. Mr Flood was an eloquent orator of the first rank, and no inferior casuist; he was firm, independent, and took an honest and fair course; he was perfectly consistent, according to his principles of acting and judging, and we must confess that we should not have here branched into these comments, had we not been provoked by the reflections thrown out among some of his biographers, who have, with the very common fault of this class of writers, thought it necessary to elevate him by the disparagement of another, who acted differently in the same juncture of events. Mr Flood's speech on the subject of reform, so far as we have been enabled to form any judgment, is indeed remarkable for its soundness and constitutional knowledge, and amply supports the character which he possessed.

It may be considered as the close of his career. In the following parliament he was excluded, as his biographer states, by the efforts of both parties. He retired to Farmley, where he is represented as suffering from the painful sense of undeserved slight. The sentiment is such as few eminent political men would, under similar circumstances, be likely to escape; and Mr Flood's proud, ambitious, and resentful tone of mind, must have been more than ordinarily liable to such affections. He was suffering from an attack of gout, when he ventured to expose his person imprudently on the occasion of a fire breaking out in his premises. A cold, terminating in pleurisy, followed, and caused his death, on the 2d of December, 1791.

Mr Flood, on the lowest impartial estimate, must be reckoned among the first public men of his day. As an orator, inferior to few; as a political casuist, superior to most. His style, firm, well arranged, simple, and perspicuous; his method of reasoning always ingenious and full of art; frequently just, forcible, and satisfactory. He was master of the general elements of constitutional polity, and on many great questions used his knowledge with a power which cannot easily be overrated. In the earlier part of his public life, though living among eminent men, he was without a rival. In later years, when he was placed side by side with a few who were of more ascendant powers and who claimed an equal place, he was, we cannot help feeling, in a considerable degree affected by a temper not framed to be patient of comparison. Generous, honourable, kindly affectioned, and a sincere lover of Ireland, his character was deeply tinctured with pride and self-importance; and as life advanced, in the strife with party and individual, a large portion of acrimony appears to have been gradually mingled in the mass.

Concerning those parts of his public conduct which have been questioned, we have expressed our opinion in the course of this memoir, with that degree of reserve which ought, we think, to be observed in every attempt to penetrate the motives of an individual. Without

* Mr Flood's answer to this very objection is an evasion; but it is worthy of his master Demosthenes, as a specimen of clear, pointed, and condensed oratory.

assenting to the imputations of his opponents, we would deduct considerably from the too indiscriminate defences of his friends; and were we to enter on a precise analysis, we should incline to refer to the mixed motives so generally to be discovered at the root of human conduct. There are few so ignorant as not to have some perception of the manner in which a lurking self-interest will be spun round and adorned by the dexterity of reason, with a comely cloud of lofty and conscientious motives. This is but a reading of the prophet's adage, "The heart is deceitful above all things," &c. Any one who treads the common ways of life, and watches, as they deserve, the shiftings of human opinion, will not want examples.

Mr Flood's bequest to Ireland has been commemorated and commented upon in a little book which is itself an honourable monument. The following is the actual clause of his will:—"To the University of Ireland, commonly called Trinity College, Dublin, by whatsoever style, and under whatsoever title it is most properly and legally characterized and distinguished, to hold in fee and for ever for the purposes hereinafter mentioned; that is to say, I will and direct that, on their coming into possession of this my bequest, on the death of my said wife, they do institute and maintain, as a perpetual establishment, a professorship of, and for the native Irish, or Erse language, and that they do appoint, if he be still living, colonel Charles Vallancey to be the first professor thereof, with a salary of no less than £300 sterling a-year, that by his eminent and successful labours in the study and recovery of that language, he well deserves to be first appointed. And I will and appoint, that they do grant one annual and liberal premium for the best, and another for the next best composition in prose or verse, in the native Irish, or Erse language, upon some point of ancient history, government, religion, literature, or situation of Ireland; and also one other annual and liberal premium, one for the best, and another for the next best composition in English prose or verse, in commemoration of some of those great characters, either of ancient or modern nations, who have been eminently serviceable and honourable to their country—seeing that nothing stimulates to great deeds more strongly than great examples; and I will that the rents and profits of my said lands, houses, hereditaments, and estates, shall be further applied by the said university to the purchase of all printed books and manuscripts in the said native Irish or Erse language, wheresoever to be obtained; and next, to the purchase of all printed books and manuscripts of the dialects and languages that are akin to the said native Irish, or Erse language; and then to the purchase of all valuable books, and editions of books, in the learned and in the modern polished languages."

Walter Hussey Burgh.

BORN A.D. 1743.—DIED A.D. 1783.

OF Walter Hussey, who took in addition the name of Burgh, our records are scanty indeed, being confined to the scattered notices which

are to be met with in reports and among the memoirs of some of his contemporaries, who had the better fortune to be commemorated before time had obliterated the recollections of their personal history. Yet among the most illustrious characters of a period abounding in eminent men, there can hardly be named one more truly entitled to the meed of history. Unhappily, these remarks will also in some measure apply to several distinguished persons of the same eventful time. Nor are the memories of Charlemont, Flood, and Grattan, much more indebted to the pre-eminent situations they filled in the political scene, than to the fortunate circumstance of their having attached friends or relatives, who did not suffer them to pass without their record. The names of Burgh, Daly, Perry, &c., &c., which filled no secondary place in the annals of the most remarkable crisis of Irish history, must, we regret to say it, occupy a comparatively slight space in our pages. This is, it is true, the less to be lamented, as the events and incidents which should constitute the main portion of such records, are, for the most part, identical with the materials which compose our more circumstantial memoirs; and we may, perhaps, after all, best perform our duty to the public, by collecting those few scattered lights which occur in the pages of the historians and political writers of the period. As we cannot even pretend to exercise our judgment very freely upon such narrow grounds, we have also to premise that we must adhere more closely than we have generally seen reason to do to the statements, and even the language of our authorities.

The first notice which we have been enabled to find of Burgh, places him in the Irish commons as the member for a borough of the duke of Leinster, in 1768. He then took a conspicuous part in opposition to lord Townshend's government. We incidentally learn, that, in the university, he had been highly distinguished for classical learning, and for his poetic taste and talent. On his first appearance in the house he obtained notice for a style, which, from Mr Hardy's designation, we should presume to have been rather too highly embellished with the flowers of poetry, and with a more profuse display of classical quotation than would be approved by his maturer experience. But we are also told that every session refined away something of these superfluities, and improved him into the most elegant and interesting debater of his day.

He was at the same time a barrister of considerable business and high character; and, in the early part of lord Buckingham's administration, obtained the rank of prime sergeant. Finding it difficult to reconcile his politics with those of the government, after one year's trial, he threw up his office, and his return to the popular party was a subject of general congratulation.

On the introduction of the question of Irish trade in 1779, by Mr Grattan's amendment to the address in answer to the lord-lieutenant's speech, Mr Burgh concluded a spirited debate, by moving, instead of the amendment, "That it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin." This amendment had been previously concerted between Messrs Burgh, Daly, and Grattan. The amendment to the address, as first proposed by Mr Grattan, had been previously drawn up by

Daly, but several objections having arisen, were concluded by Mr Burgh's amendment. At this time Mr Burgh was member for the University, of which body he represented the opinions in favour of Irish trade. The merit of his conduct was enhanced by the fact that he then held office. Shortly after, in the same year, and while the Irish parliament was yet held in irritating suspense on the subject of trade, a motion was made in the committee of supply to limit the grant to six months. On this occasion Mr Burgh made a speech, which has been often commemorated by Irish historians, both for its effects and intrinsic merits. This was the occasion on which he felt it necessary to resign his office. Soon after, when Mr Grattan was about to bring forward his motion on the question of the independence of the Irish parliament, he wrote to request the support of Burgh, and was answered, "I shall attend, and if it were my last vote I shall give it in favour of my country." When he had made his speech in this debate, he turned to Mr Grattan, and said, "I have now sacrificed the greatest honour an Irishman can aim at."

He was, nevertheless, soon after raised to the bench as chief baron of the exchequer, in which high station he died in 1783, in the fortieth year of his age. On the subject of his character some fine things have been said by Mr Flood, Mr Grattan, and others, most of which are become familiar by frequent repetition. Mr Flood, in speaking of his death, observed, "he did not live to be ennobled by patent—he was ennobled by nature." Lord Temple's letter on the occasion, contains a testimony the more valuable, because it is not liable to the species of deduction mostly to be made from rhetorical eulogy. "No one had that steady decided weight which he possessed in the judgment and affections of his country; and no one had more decidedly that inflexible and constitutional integrity which the times and circumstances peculiarly call for."

Burgh left his family in embarrassed circumstances. His infirmity was the love of ostentatious display: his equipage was stately and expensive beyond his rank and means; six horses and three outriders would, in our times, expose a chief baron to the world's smile. Mr Grattan proposed, and obtained from parliament, a grant for the relief of his family.

John Hely Hutchinson.

BORN A.D. ——.—DIED A.D. 1795.

JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON was the son of Mr Francis Hely, the name of Hutchinson was afterwards assumed in consequence of his marriage with a Miss Nixon, through whom he obtained possession of the estate of Richard Hutchinson, of Knocklofty, in the county of Tipperary.

He was called to the bar in 1748, and made a rapid progress to professional eminence. His legal and political knowledge, and distinguished powers as an orator, soon opened the way to advancement, and the house of commons was the sure avenue to promotion. He began as a sturdy ally in the ranks of opposition, and soon made himself

of sufficient importance to attract the offers of government, in consequence of which he soon obtained his silk gown, and, in 1762, was appointed prime sergeant.

In this station he continued until 1774. He then resigned and gave up his professional pursuits for the high appointment of provost, to which dignity he was promoted on the death of provost Andrews.

Such an appointment being of a nature not merely anomalous, but—looking to the character and objects, to the constitution and dignity of the university of Dublin—bearing the characters of a most unwarranted stretch of power, must necessarily arrest the reader's attention. It seems assuredly to demonstrate the urgent necessities of the administration of that day for political support against the growing power of opposition. It also illustrates strongly the contempt for Ireland, so often indicated in the proceedings of the Castle. To the fellows, professors and scholars of Trinity college, in that very time eminent for even more than their usual reputation of learning and talent, such an outrage could hardly have been offered by an administration competent either to appreciate these qualifications, or to understand the more true and permanent interests of the country. Ireland, then beginning to cry aloud for the privileges of national manhood, but yet whole generations away from moral and intellectual puberty, was to be over-ruled by expedients. Instead of fostering institutions, and endeavouring to spread and cultivate the seeds of future civilization and prosperity, all was sacrificed first to still the sounds of gathering discontent, and then to conciliate by premature, yet insufficient, concessions. There was none of the mild and kindly wisdom which looks to the real wants and actual interests, and anticipates the growth of a nation. The viceroy, if he aimed to be popular, acted with indiscriminating indulgence—if not, he only considered how best the domination of England was to be preserved whole. To repress the impatient and unenlightened, though in the main generous clamours of demagogues, and to restrain the over-zealous and equally uninstructed adherents—who but too well justified the discontents and complaints which they vainly endeavoured to silence by intimidation—formed no part of the policy of the English government. It never entered into their contemplation—that Ireland, though far behind England, in the civilization of her people, yet comprised in her higher ranks a large and increasing nucleus of the very highest civilization, essentially English in its entire frame: and that consequently, whether matured or not, she would never rest content, one single step short of England, in advantages or pretensions. The dispute could not fail to arise, and could not proceed without propagating an impulse through every rank. This fundamental and axiomatic truth, would have demanded from a comprehensive and enlightened government, an early attention to the diffusion of the comforts, arts and knowledge of civilized life. To conduct, in peace, the administration of a country of which the whole civil system was disorderly, and to maintain the pressure of a destructive and intolerable fiscal pressure, was the main end of British policy. From such a policy, the venerable seat of science and polite letters, might well have congratulated itself upon a considerable interval of immunity from the time when it was converted into a barrack by the vile Tyrconnel and the cowardly

tyrant James—to the rude and inconsiderate imposition of an extern provost.

Yet if such an insult and wrong could be excused, it may find its apology in the distinguished reputation of the person thus advanced. As an orator, he was the rival of Flood, and in their frequent conflicts, was generally considered to have the advantage: he was specially distinguished for a peculiar command of style, which enabled him to be concise or diffusive, perplexing or perspicuous, simple and plain-spoken, or splendid and figurative as the occasion required: as a debater he has been thus described by secretary Hamilton: "he was the speaker, who, in support of the government, had always something to say which gratified the house—that he could go out in all weathers, and as a debater was therefore inestimable." He always contrived to interest and retain the attention of the house, and in every collision he preserved his temper and conciliated his hearers by the appearance of respect. He was a fine scholar, and a lover of classical learning.

Among the recorded peculiarities of his character, was his inordinate and indiscriminate appetite for promotions. Among other instances, a story is told of his having made an application to lord Townshend, for some addition to the numerous appointments which he had contrived to sweep together in his own person. Townshend jestingly answered, that there was at the moment nothing vacant but a majority of horse. But to his surprise, Mr Hutchinson immediately pressed for it. It may now be considered as matter of more legitimate wonder, that it was granted, and that being himself unable to serve in that capacity, his valour was obliged to be represented by a deputy major. The incident was indeed by no means new—nor are we quite sure that the following *mot* of lord North's was altogether original; it is still highly appropriate. When Mr Hutchinson appeared in the court of St James, the king asked who he was: lord North answered, "that is your majesty's principal secretary of state, in the Irish establishment; a man, on whom if your majesty were pleased to bestow England and Ireland, he would ask for the Isle of Man for a potato garden."

The spirit of exaction without pretensions, and of lax and unprincipled concession thus ascertained, may sufficiently explain the intrusive appointment of a provost. The result was vexatious to Hutchinson, as it was derogatory to the university. Such an appointment could not be willingly submitted to by the senior fellows, or by any member of the university; and indications of this reluctance did not fail to appear. Hutchinson's dexterity supported by the power of administration, served him in good stead: he quickly contrived to create a division in his favour. Unable to propitiate in any way the injured dignity of the fellows, he successfully appealed to the folly and vanity of the students. The prospect of converting a seat of learning, a school of science, ancient literature and theology, into a seminary for the light-heeled and light-fingered frivolities of fashionable society; a dancing school, a riding school, and a gymnasium, where young gentlemen might be accomplished for the ball room and the race course; where the sons of the nobility might acquire those rudiments which had been neglected in the stables at home, and where their

daughters might in the course of time hope to come for similar refinements. Such an improvement could not fail to win the acclamations of freshmen—delighted to exchange the categories and predicaments for the five positions, and the moods and figures of Aristotle for the lighter figures of the reel and strathspey. The youthful fry were quickly arrayed for the gay functionary who came thus attended with song and dance, to banish the conventual gloom of dark-stoled philosophy; and substitute

> Jest, and youthful jollity,
> Quips and cranks, and wanton wiles,
> Nods and becks, and wreathed smiles,

the resort and inspiration of Euphrosyne, for the antiquated empire of the graver muse. Such was the keen and subtle device of the lawyer and the political partisan: he had read his Sallust to some purpose, and knew the efficacy of promise on light and undisciplined minds. "*Sed maxume adolescentium familiaritates adpetebat: eorum animi molles et ætate fluxi dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam uti cujusque studium ex ætate flagrabat, aliis scorta præbere; aliis canes atque equos mercari; postremo neque sumtui, neque modestiæ suæ parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque faceret.*"

The bait was also swallowed with avidity by the public, ever prone to rush headlong into every new and specious project—purblind to all distinctions—and happy to be excited by plausibilities and promises of fancied improvement. The journalists and the little pamphleteers—then a most ignorant class, more subject to the influence of public prejudices, than capable of correcting or dispelling them; and inflated with a low contempt for all knowledge beyond the journey-work babble of the weekly press—fell into this popular and prosperous device, and helped with their wonted dexterity to give popularity to the new provost and his enlightened scheme to improve upon the *humaniores literæ*.

On the other side, it may well be supposed that there were many who were keenly alive to a proper sense of the strange and grotesque indignity thus offered, not only to the college, but to Ireland: and indeed to all learning and learned men, of every nation and time. It was seen that the proposed innovations were unsuitable: that fashionable accomplishments could be acquired at home, at grammar schools, and from the numerous professors who were ever at hand in town and country. It was understood by persons a little removed from the crowd in common sense, that a young logician could receive the visits of a dancing-master, or attend a riding-master, without the necessity of investing these dignified professors with the cap and gown, and dubbing them doctors of dancing or prancing.

But, above all, the senior fellows, as best became their character and station, exerted themselves to ward off a blow which would have gone far to obscure the light of the Irish seat of learning. And happily they resisted with effect; though it is, indeed, to be presumed that Hutchinson could never seriously have intended to carry into effect his fantastic proposal. Among the incidents of this controversy, some very curious have been recorded. Dr Patrick Duignan, a man of a coarse taste, but exceedingly vigorous understanding, a

lawyer also, and a senior fellow, took an active part. He published several satirical squibs in the *Hibernian Journal;* and, not content with writing, he also assailed the new provost with rough and homely language, which was probably more true than courteous. On these assaults of the tongue, the provost, it is said, looked down with that contempt which is equally available on any side of any cause, and the best weapon when the case affords no better. Some of his partisans and friends were, however, less moderate, and the Doctor was not suffered to escape affronts and indignities, which he met and parried with a degree of humour and dexterity, which must afford material for a more detailed account than we could conveniently add to this memoir, and shall therefore reserve for our notice of the Doctor himself.

We shall only here add on the subject that Hutchinson retained the provostship during his life. The disgraceful project of the gymnasium was of course relinquished, and it is to be presumed that the real talents and learning of a very able man gradually recommended him to the members of the board.

He also continued to sit in the house of commons as member for the city of Cork. As a member of the legislature, it may be mentioned to his praise, that he took a prominent part in favour of the octennial bill, the address in favour of free trade, and the bill for the repeal of the penal laws affecting the members of the Church of Rome.

His death occurred in 1795. He was offered a peerage, and accepted the honour for his family in the person of his wife, who was created baroness Donoughmore. Hence the origin of this title in the peerage.

Barry Yelverton, Viscount Avonmore.

BORN A.D. 1736.—DIED A.D. 1805.

BARRY YELVERTON was born at Newmarket, in the county of Cork. He was sent early to the village-school of that town,—a school of that order so well known in Ireland, and perhaps nowhere else: the reader will find, or may recollect, its description in Mr Carleton's "Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry." At these schools an extensive and accurate acquaintance with Greek and Latin authors, and a still more thorough intimacy with the mathematical sciences, as then known in these kingdoms, were commonly to be met with in the rudest hovel, and under the most uncouth guise of dress, manner, and diction. At such schools, and from such instructors, it might be expected now and then to happen, that native genius might find its upward impulse, and rise into the notice and advantages of a higher level. Such was the fortune of two eminent Irishmen, who nearly at the same period* received their first education in the village-school of Newmarket. Yelverton, some years older than Curran, preceded him also in the school; and some of the biographers of the former have noticed the curiously paralleled circumstances of their early history.

* There is a difference of twelve years.

Among other curious anecdotes respecting the early years of Yelverton, it is told that he had obtained the situation of usher in a school kept by a Mr Buck in North King-street, Dublin. Mrs Buck was an enlightened economist, and conceived the profound improvement of a very considerable saving in her domestic expenditure, by reducing the diet of the ushers to bread and milk—the wholesome and substantial fare of schoolboys in all generations. The lady's theory was accordingly put in actual operation; and Yelverton, who was head usher, feeling his pride nettled by a change no less ungrateful to his stomach than derogatory to his station, came to the bold resolution of seeking his fortune in a higher and more worthy field. Without delay he quitted the King-street academy, and by strenuous exertions, of which we deeply regret that we have no particular account to offer, he was called to the bar in 1764.

At the bar he was unquestionably placed in his proper element; but, as commonly happens, he continued for some years to walk the courts without making any progress in his profession. He, nevertheless, attracted that general notice which talents can seldom fail to meet in a circle so observant and informed as the Irish bar. Great colloquial talents are, of all others, the most unlikely to lie concealed, and these Yelverton eminently possessed. It was a time when party feeling was just beginning to rise in Ireland, and when the great importance of such powers as he was known to possess began to be strongly felt; and, in 1774, he was elected to represent the city of Carrickfergus in the Irish house of commons. His general character as an orator and politician are drawn with distinctness and force, and perhaps as much accuracy as may reasonably be looked for in such portraitures, by Barrington. He is described as, in their several descriptions of eloquence, inferior respectively to Flood, Grattan, Burgh, and Curran, but, in the command of "powerful, nervous language, superior to them all. A vigorous, commanding, undaunted eloquence burst in torrents from his lips," &c. Mr Barrington goes on to describe the moral features of his disposition; and, among other traits, mentions that "in the common transactions of the world he was an infant." From the entire of this portion of Mr Barrington's description, it is to be inferred that he was a man of extreme simplicity and singleness of character, with the virtues and failings not unusually attendant on such a character, and of warm passions and sensibilities, which heightened and gave an active effect to such qualities. With a spirit which moved free from the numberless fine checks and disguises by which the selfishness and inhumanity of the crowd are commonly repressed and masked, he was equally insensible to the multiform refined conventions which are dependent on the same principle, which grow up as instincts in the vulgar mind, and regulate, more or less, the intercourse and conversation of the world. Such a man will often be observed to err on both sides of the common track, now falling into strange and grotesque deviations, and now towering in the dignity of native goodness; and, being more regulated by feeling than by principle, will also be seen to diverge where reason and rule must be looked to exclusively, or nobly leading the way when impulse and good feeling are called into operation, and constitute the elements of

action. This is, however, a generalization; to what precise extent it may be truly applied to Yelverton we cannot pretend to say: Barrington tells us that he was, "in the varieties of right and wrong, of propriety and error, a frail mortal;" and on this we but offer a construction derived from observation and experience. We are further informed in the same sentence that he was, "in the senate and at the bar a mighty giant; it was on the bench that, unconscious of his errors, and in his home that, unconscious of virtues, both were most conspicuous." Much of Mr Barrington's sketching we can but imperfectly comprehend. There was in his day a laboured and ambitious flow of broken and antithetical sentences, which tempted writers into the language of fine distinctions beyond the line of precise meaning. We can, nevertheless, infer from a very uncommon confusion of words, that Yelverton was profusely generous without the reserve of prudence, and the character may be completed by the following touches which fall in well with the foregoing description:—"His character was entirely transparent, it had no opaque qualities—his passions were open—his prepossessions palpable—his failings obvious—and he took as little pains to conceal his faults as to publish his perfections." To this, as we can, indeed, do nothing more, we may add the following account of his legal and judicial character from the same authority:—"Amply qualified for the bench by profound legal and constitutional learning—extensive professional practice—strong logical powers—a classical and wide ranging capacity—equitable propensities, and a philanthropic disposition—he possessed all the positive qualifications for a great judge." In counterbalance to these characteristics, we are told that he "received impressions too soon, and perhaps too strongly; he was indolent in research, and impatient in discussion," &c. Every one will recollect the well-known relation of an amusing instance, in which Mr Curran practised with considerable effect on this temper of mind.

We have already given some account of the monks of St Patrick, otherwise called "Monks of the Screw"—a political and convivial society, from which may be traced the first dawnings of that spirit which afterwards gave so much energy and talent to the political struggles of Ireland in the last century. This body was formed by the subject of this memoir, in 1779—it comprised all that was distinguished for wit and talent at the time. The place of their meeting was in Kevin street; and, consisting chiefly of barristers and members of parliament, they were accustomed to meet in term time on Saturdays. In these meetings they seem to have kept up, in some measure, a travestied imitation of certain conventual formalities—the chapter at which the abbot presided, and at which the members wore black robes, was held before commons: a grave deportment gave poignancy to the sallies of occasional but still not intemperate humour, for which it offered materials and a decorous mask. From the members are said to have emanated most of the literary political productions which obtained decided effect in the great popular struggle which followed. Among the most eminent members, besides the founder, were Curran, Day (senior fellow), Arthur Browne (the fellow), Burgh, earl of Charlemont, Corry, Daly, Day (the judge), Doyle (afterwards major-general and a baro-

net), Grattan, earl of Mornington, G. Ogle, Ponsonby, Sir Michael Smith, Stack (fellow), marquis of Townshend, Arthur Wolfe (lord Kilwarden). These we select, not as the highest in rank, but as best known to the reader, from upwards of fifty-eight, all men of high repute in their generation. The society lasted until 1795. We shall hereafter give other curious details. But it is here that we may most fitly mention an incident connected with the recollections of the institution, which may be in some degree considered illustrative, both of the character of the meeting, and of the distinguished subject of this notice. In a trial, on which lord Avonmore sat as judge, Mr Curran was one of the counsel for the defendant: there had for some time previous existed a coldness between these eminent men. On this trial Mr Curran took occasion to appeal to the sensibility of his old friend, in the following allusion to the meetings of the club:—"This soothing hope I draw from the dearest and tenderest recollections of my life—from the remembrance of those attic heights and those refections of the gods, which we have spent with those admired, and respected, and beloved companions who have gone before us; over whose ashes the most precious tears of Ireland have been shed. [Here lord Avonmore could not refrain from bursting into tears.] Yes, my good lord, I see you do not forget them. I see their sacred forms passing in sad review before your memory. I see your pained and softened fancy recalling those happy meetings, where the innocent enjoyment of social mirth became expanded into the nobler warmth of social virtue, and the horizon of the board became enlarged into the horizon of man—where the swelling heart conceived and communicated the pure and generous purpose—where my slenderer and younger taper imbibed its borrowed light from the more matured and redundant fountain of yours. Yes, my lord, we can remember those nights without any other regret than that they can never more return; for

> "We spent them not in toys, or lust, or wine,
> But search of deep philosophy,
> Wit, eloquence, and poesy;
> Arts which I loved; for they, my friend, were thine."

The sequel to this incident is truly and affectingly characteristic—it had the effect of reconciling these two distinguished men. "At the moment the court rose, his lordship sent for his friend, and threw himself into his arms, declaring that unworthy artifices had been used to separate them, and that they should never succeed in future."*

While yet a member of the house of commons he took an active and effectual part in the struggle for the trade and legislative independence of his country. But he had also the rare wisdom to see where to stop, and to mark the point where a popular revolution has gone to the utmost length to which its results can be salutary, and at which a violent reaction or the dissolution of society must be the next steps: a wisdom more wanting in Ireland than elsewhere, not so much, indeed, from any defect in the moral constitution of our people—though to this, too, some effect is due—as to the peculiar position of Ireland; which we have already, more than once, endeavoured to explain. At

* Life of J. P. Curran, by his son, W. H. Curran.

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